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AKBAR AND TWO MANSABDARS

MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA

[1526–1761]

PART I

BY

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WITH PREFACE BY

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"To know anything thoroughly nothing accessible must be excluded."
—SIR OLIVER LODGE.

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To

The Sacred Memory

of

GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE

Model Scholar, Teacher, and

Servant of India

whose ardent devotion to other studies

did not blind him

to

a true appreciation of History

this work is most respectfully dedicated.

راستی موجب رضائی خدا ست
کس ندیدم که گم شد از ره راست

'Truth is the means of pleasing God;
I never saw any one lost on the right road.'

—INSCRIPTION ON AKBAR'S SEAL.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The Rev. Father H. Heras, S. J., M. A., has laid me under a deep sense of gratitude by writing the Preface to this book. In a manner he has obviated the need of any explanation from me of the purpose and scope of the work. I am hopeful my labours will prove useful to students of the history of Mughal Empire in India, not by lightening their reading, but by acting as a reliable guide to more exhaustive studies. My indebtedness to the host of writers and workers in the field of Mughal History, from whom I have gleaned so much, is larger than I can specifically acknowledge. My sources and authorities have been indicated at every step. I thank most heartily all who have made this publication possible. In particular I must mention Mr. M. N. Kulkarni, proprietor of the Karnatak Printing Press, for readily undertaking this publication and executing it in a manner that will speak for itself.

S. R. S.

Poona, 18*th June* 1934.

PREFACE

A text-book is not an easy thing to write, and because many text-book writers do not realise this, their books are soon forgotten. But the text-book which Prof. S. R. Sharma invites me to present to the students' world to-day, will not be easily forgotten. It is not conceived along the ordinary lines of a School text; but is original, well thought out and eminently suitable for the B. A. History course. A good text-book for the School boys will not be a good text-book for College students.

Prof. Sharma's is a College text-book. Besides the historical events, narrated in much greater detail than in School text-books, Prof. Sharma introduces a number of authors to the students. Some of those authors are eye-witnesses of the events themselves, contemporary writers, first class authorities that are called in historical language *Sources* of History. Others are authors of books written after the study of the Sources, second-hand authorities, valuable also, but not as important as the first ones; such books are classified under the heading of *Historical Literature.* It was a happy thought indeed to make the students acquainted with all these books and all these authors. Thus this text-book is not a book for cramming, but a real guide to the student, who thus will know where to study his subject more deeply and in a more scientific way.

It is a mistake to think that B. A. students need not know the Sources of History. That would be to lower our University students below the level of all other University students. Certainly the detailed study of all the Sources and the use of these Sources for working in research is beyond the scope of the B. A. course; but some knowledge of these Sources is required for a true University student. No University student should be allowed to finish the History course without know-

ing that the foundations of the historical narrative of the text-book are contemporary documents, the authors of which were either trustworthy witnesses, or, at least, well acquainted with the events they describe.

All this will be known by the students who use Prof. Sharma's book. Perhaps this book will force them to work harder than if they used a cramming text-book; but by reading this book and by following the directions pointed out to them in it, they will know more History than by using any other text-book. And this is precisely what they were coveting when they enrolled themselves as History students. This text-book is a real source of high and systematic knowledge. The intelligent use of this text-book will introduce the student to the genuine Historical method.

H. HERAS, S. J.

Bombay, 1*st June* 1934.

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INTRODUCTION

"No study has so potent an influence in forming a nation's mind and a nation's character as a critical and careful study of its past history. And it is by such study alone that an unreasoning and superstitious worship of the past is replaced by a legitimate and manly admiration."—R. C. DUTT.

The period of nearly two and a half centuries that forms the subject of this study is one of the most brilliant epochs in Indian History. In 1526, Zahiru-d din Muhammad Babur, by his victory over Ibrahim Lodi in the first battle of Panipat, ushered in a new era in India and a new dynasty on the throne of Delhi, as Henry VII had done in England after his triumph on the field of Bosworth only forty years earlier (1485). The Age of the Mughals in India was memorable in many ways as of the Tudors in England. The first task of the two adventurers, Henry in England and Babur in India, was not dissimilar: both had to make themselves secure on their newly won thrones; both had to contend against champions, either legitimate or pretentious, of the disestablished powers; both, in brief, aimed at the establishment of a strong but benevolent monarchy, each in a country newly made his own. If Henry Tudor sought to win the hearts of his subjects and bridge the gulf between two principal factions within England by means of his marriage with Elizabeth of York, likewise did a monarch of the Mughal dynasty, Akbar, marry a Rajput princess to bring about rapprochement between Hindus and Muslims in India. For a king who sought to make himself absolute in every way in England, it was felt necessary that he should be supreme over Church and State, and hence Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy were passed. Akbar aimed at the same objective, but did not seek to

impose his royal will with the blood-stained hand of persecution. 'For an Empire ruled by one head,' he thought, 'it was a bad thing to have the members divided among themselves and at variance one with the other. We ought, therefore, to bring them all into one, but in such a fashion that they should be *one* and *all*, with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion, while gaining whatever is better in another. In that way honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the peoples, and security to the Empire.'[1]

These parallels, striking as they are, may not be pressed too closely. In the first place, there was an essential difference in detail in the two peoples and countries. Secondly, the comparison or contrast is not always between two individual and exactly contemporaneous monarchs, but primarily between the general circumstances and achievements of two dynasties and countries. Yet few can read of Akbar and Elizabeth, or even of Jahangir and James I, without being strongly reminded of certain resemblances or dissimilarities. The death of Elizabeth (1603) in England, and of Akbar (1605) in India, placed on their respective thrones successors who had much in common in their personal composition; both James and Jahangir were notorious for the mixture of opposite elements in their character. The contemporary of 'the wisest fool in Christendom,' who was 'laborious over trifles and a trifler where serious labour was required,' is thus described by V. A. Smith: Jahangir "was a strange compound of tenderness and cruelty, justice and caprice, refinement and brutality, good sense and childishness."[2] The generation after the death of each of these witnessed a civil war in both countries; though in one it was merely a fratricidal struggle for the throne, and in another a war of liberation against the tyranny of the crown. In both countries there was no longer benevolence left about the monarchy, but only despotism. The puritanical

1. Bartoli, cited by V. A. Smith in *Akbar the Great Mogul*, pp. 211-12.

2. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 387.

Aurangazeb and the puritanical Cromwell, despite essential differences, had many a stern trait in common that evoked natural revulsion and reaction in each case. The later Stuarts, like the later Mughals, were but inglorious representatives of their respective houses. Here the parallels diverge, perhaps to meet again in our present struggle for political liberation, which is but an enlarged edition of England's own example copied in India with local adaptations.

In 1688, when by her Glorious Revolution, England was on the sure road to complete political emancipation, Aurangzeb was busy digging his own grave in the Deccan; and from the death of Aurangzeb (1707) to the extinction of his Empire was not a far cry. "As some imperial corpse," writes Lane-Poole, "preserved for ages in its dread seclusion, crowned and armed and still majestic, yet falls to dust at the mere breath of heaven, so fell the Empire of the Mughal when the great name that guarded it was no more."[1] In 1707 also England and Scotland came close to each other, and produced two-thirds of the Union Jack (the symbol of Britain's Imperial expansion) by a combination of the white flag of St. Andrews and the red cross of St. George. But when England was thus integrating, the Mughal Empire was fast disintegrating. When in 1739 Nadir Shah took away the Peacock Throne of Shah Jahan from Delhi, he despoiled, not merely the Imperial capital of its wealth but also the Imperial crown of its prestige. In 1761, after the third battle of Panipat, as Elphinstone observes, "The history of the Mughal Empire closes of itself: Its territory is broken into separate states; the capital is deserted; the claimant to the name of Emperor is an exile and a dependant; while a new race of conquerors has already commenced its career, which may again unite the Empire under better auspices than before."[2]

Though the Mughal Emperors continued to bear the name and wear the crown for long after their virtual extinction, their phantom figures were only the lingering shadows of

1. Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, p. 411.
2. Elphinstone, *History of India*, p. 753.

a glory that was already past. A hundred years after the third battle of Panipat, the last of the house of Babur and Akbar, died in exile in Rangoon, in 1862, at the age of eighty-seven, having been arrested in 1857 by Lieutenant Hodson of the Intelligence Department, tried and convicted like an ordinary felon in January 1858, and sent to Calcutta and thence to Rangoon. Such was the fate of Bahadur Shah "the *great* emperor." Only 250 years earlier, in the last year of Akbar's life, the first English ambassador, John Mildenhall, had come to the Court of the Grand Mughal as a mere suppliant with flickering hopes of success; in 1685, only eighty years after the death of Akbar, the English under direction of Sir Josiah Child, "the masterful chairman or governor of the Company, who was ambitious, (and) aimed at laying 'the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come'.......persuaded King James II to sanction the dispatch of ten or twelve ships of war with instructions to seize and fortify Chittagong. The expedition, rashly planned and unfortunate in execution, was an utter failure. Subsequently, in 1688, the English found themselves obliged to abandon Bengal altogether."[1] But time brought about a sudden transformation in the situation, the details of which need not be traced here. The year of the third battle of Panipat also saw the final discomfiture of the French in India, while the English had already become masters of Bengal. As Smith puts it, "The traders who fled in terror to Fulta in June 1756 were the masters of a rich kingdom exactly twelve months later." He also observes, "The collapse of the Empire came with a suddenness which at first sight may seem surprising. But the student who has acquired even a moderately sound knowledge of the history will be surprised that the Empire lasted so long rather than because it collapsed suddenly."[2]

The causes of the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire will be described and discussed in their proper place in the

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 449.
2. Ibid., p. 466.

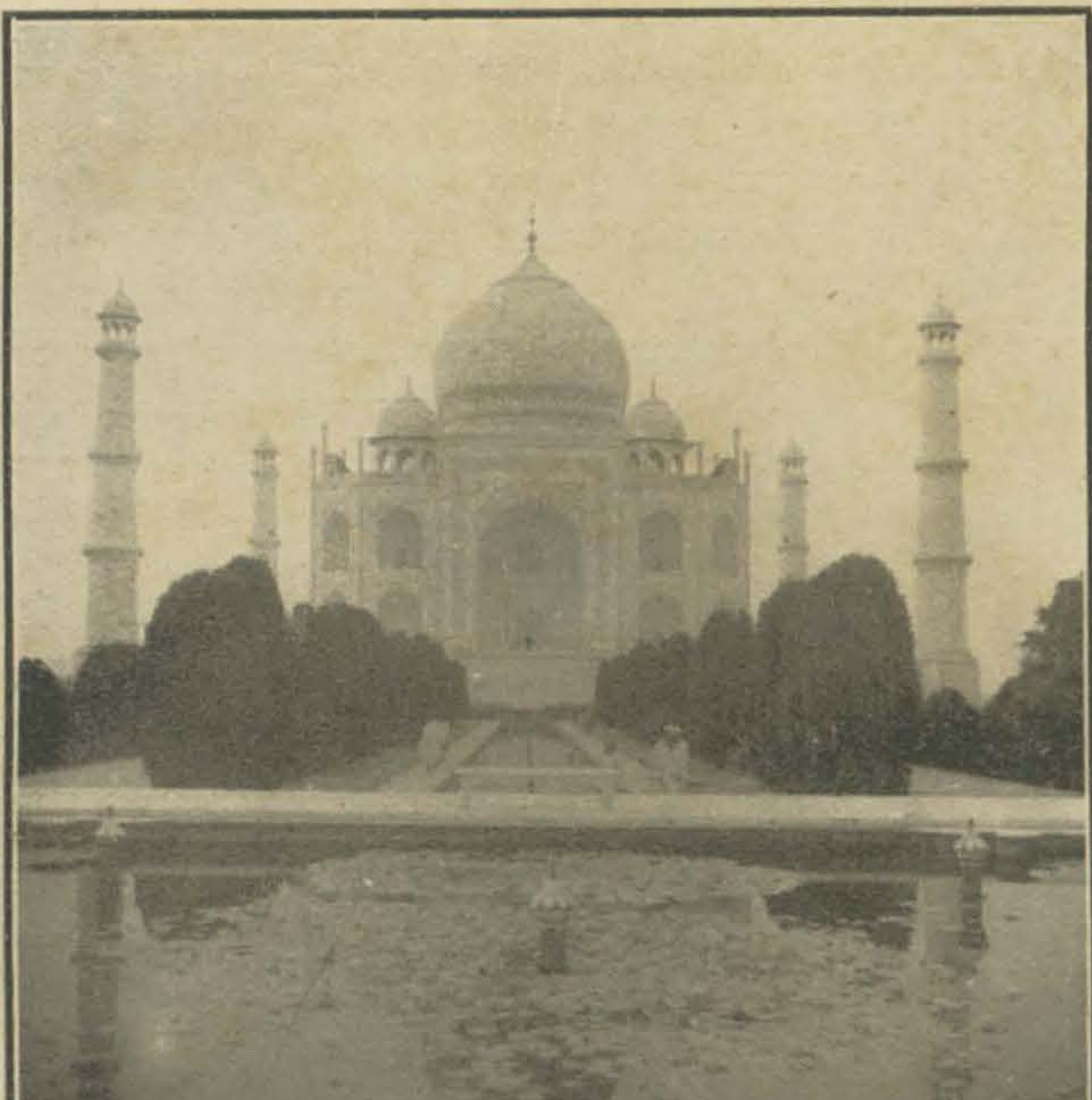


Photo by Mr. V. N. Ambdekar

"THE DREAM IN MARBLE"

body of this work. Here it may be only pointed out that, since the character and strength of the whole structure depended almost entirely upon the genius of the Emperor himself, the deterioration of the Empire went hand in hand with the corruption of the Emperor's personal character and capacity. The Empire was strong and flourishing when the personality at its centre possessed strength and genius; it became weak and oppressive when that central figure itself fell a prey to all kinds of vicious influences. A character study of the Emperors themselves must therefore find an important place in the scheme of our work; their character was the epitome of the character of the Empire at every stage. But in judging them, we should never forget that they were essentially the products of their age, and, as R. C. Dutt says, " We should never make the mistake of comparing the XVI and XVII centuries with the XIX and XX centuries, either in Europe or in India; and we must never forget that administration was rude and corrupt, and administrators were arbitrary and oppressive all over the world in the olden days. But making allowance for this, we may look back on Mughal rule in India with some reasons for gratification."

Nevertheless, writers are not rare who have judged even Akbar, the greatest of the Mughals, by absolute rather than contemporary standards, and tripped into making very disparaging remarks both about the subject of their criticism and the country to which he belonged. A true historical spirit ought to view things in their proper historical perspective, before judging men and nations too severely. In trying to represent the past of a country sympathetic insight into the peculiar genius and traditions of the people is an indispensable virtue, the lack of which often results in the distortion of the true import of facts if not of the facts themselves. It will not do to judge the builders of the Taj and Fathpur-Sikri by modern standards and declare them hideous monuments of imperialistic and capitalistic exploitation of the masses. It will not do to denounce Akbar on the authority of either Badauni

or the Jesuits alone, any more than it is permissible to idealise him on the sole authority of Abu-l Fazl. An impartial historian ought to weigh and consider all available sources of information, and where they seem to speak with a dubious voice, reserve judgment rather than take sides and condemn too hastily.

Looking at the Grand Mughals from such a stand-point, one can easily agree with S. M. Edwardes, and assert, "Yet they were great men, despite their failings and frailties, and when one turns from the cold catalogue of their defects to consider the unique grandeur of Fathpur-Sikri, the supreme beauty of the Taj Mahal and the Moti Masjid, the magnificence of the Agra and Delhi palaces, and the rare wealth of pictorial and calligraphic art, which owed its excellence to their guidance and inspiration, one feels inclined to re-echo the words of the lady Maréchale of France concerning a peccant member of the old noblesse of the eighteenth century: 'Depend upon it, Sir, God thinks twice before damning a man of that quality!' The fame which they achieved in their own age, and which will endure, was the natural corollary of their marked intellectuality."[1]

The virtues as well as the vices of the Grand Mughals in India were not a peculiar product of the tropics; their spiritual doubles were to be found in France, Prussia, and Russia, to mention only their most outstanding contemporaries. Louis XIV lived between 1643–1715; Frederick William I from 1713–40; Frederick the Great, 1740-86; and Peter the Great from 1682–1725. They were all cast in the same mould, and need not be individually studied. Louis XIV, writes Mr. H. G. Wells, "set a pattern for all the kings of Europe. His prevailing occupation was splendour. His great palace at Versailles . . . . was the envy and admiration of the world. He provoked a universal imitation. Every king and princelet in Europe was building his own Versailles as much beyond his means as his subjects and credits would permit. Everywhere the nobility rebuilt or extended their chateaux to the new pattern. A

1. Edwardes and Garrett, *Mughal Rule in India*, p. 350.

great industry of beautiful and elaborate fabrics and furnishings developed. The luxurious arts flourished everywhere; sculpture in alabaster, faience, gilt wood-work, metal work, stamped leather, much music, magnificent painting, beautiful printing and buildings, fine cookery, fine vintages.

" Amidst the mirrors and fine furniture went a strange race of ' gentlemen ' in vast powdered wigs, silks and laces, poised upon high red heels, supported by amazing canes; and still more wonderful ' ladies,' under towers of powdered hair and wearing vast expansions of silk and satin sustained on wire. Through it all postured the great Louis, the sun of his world, unaware of the meagre and sulky and bitter faces that watched him from those lower darknesses to which his sunshine did not penetrate.

" It was a part—and an excellent part—of the pose of the Grand Monarchy to patronise literature and the sciences.... Louis XIV decorated his court with poets, playwrights, philosophers and scientific men."

There was another side to the picture. " Great numbers of his most sober and valuable subjects were driven abroad by his religious persecutions, taking arts and industries with them.... Under his rule were carried out the ' dragonnades,' a peculiarly malignant and effectual form of persecution. Rough soldiers were quartered in the houses of the Protestants, and were free to disorder the life of their hosts and insult their woman-kind as they thought fit. Men yielded to that sort of pressure who would not have yielded to rack and fire."

Such was the nature of the Grand Monarchy in the heyday of its power in France. In the period of its decline, it was not unlike the degraded specimens of the Mughals. Louis XIV died eight years after the death of Aurangzeb, and was succeeded by his grandson Louis XV, " an incompetent imitator of his predecessor's magnificence. He posed as a King, but his ruling passion was that common obsession of our kind, the pursuit of women, tempered by a superstitious fear of hell. How such women as the Duchess of Chateauraux,

Madame de Pompadour, and Madame du Barry dominated the pleasures of the King, and how wars and alliances were made, provinces devastated, thousands of people killed, because of the vanities and spites of these creatures, and how all the public life of France and Europe was tainted with intrigue and prostitution and imposture because of them, the reader must learn from the memoirs of the time."[1]

Students of Mughal history would do well to con over these contemporary standards in Europe when they read of the magnificence, the autocracy, and the corruption of the Grand Monarchy in India. Then they will read 'not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, but to weigh and consider.' (Bacon).

1. H. G. Wells, *The Outline of World History*, pp. 816-21, (Cassell, Popular Ed. 1930.)

AUTHORITIES

A. PRIMARY: (i) Babur's own *Memoirs* are the principal source of information about his life and career.

"If ever there were a case," writes Lane-Poole, "when the testimony of a single historical document, unsupported by other evidence, should be accepted as sufficient proof, it is the case with Babur's *Memoirs*..... No reader of this prince of autobiographers can doubt his honesty or his competence as witness and chronicler."

According to Beveridge, the *Babur–Nama*, (*Wakai* or *Wakiat-i-Baburi*, or *Tuzak-i-Baburi* as Babur's *Memoirs* have been variously called) "is one of those priceless records which are for all time."

Elliot says, "Babur's *Memoirs* form one of the best and most faithful pieces of autobiography extant."

Originally written in Babur's native tongue, Turki, it was translated into Persian, notably, by Mirza Abdur-Rahim (Bairam Khan's son) in 1589, by order of Akbar.[1] Its first English translation was made by Leyden and Erskine in 1826 (2 vols. ed. King, O. U. P. 1921) and the second in 1905 by Mrs. Beveridge (2 vols. Luzac, 1921.) There is also a French translation by Pavet de Courteille (1871).

The first part of the *Memoirs*, being revised and enlarged by Babur himself, after his invasion of India, is better than the second part which has remained an unrevised and rough diary. There are three important gaps in the *Memoirs*: the first covering the period 1503-1504; the second 1508–19; and the third 1520–25.

They are therefore to be supplemented by—

(ii) *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* of Mirza Haidar (a cousin of Babur) who completed his chronicle within seventeen years of Babur's death. According to Erskine, "It is the production of a learned and accomplished man; and, in the latter parts, of a

1. A beautiful MS copy of this, with Shah Jahan's autograph on the fly-leaf and many coloured pictures, is said to be in the Agra College Library.

contemporary, intimately acquainted with the men and events he describes. It would form a most valuable accompaniment to the Commentaries of Babur, which it illustrates in every page. The two royal cousins are worthy of each other, and do honour to their age."

It has been rendered into English by Elias and Denison Ross (1895).

(iii) *Humayun-Nama* of Babur's daughter, Gulbadan Begam, is, in the estimation of Rushbrooke Williams, "exceedingly partial". Nevertheless, it contains some personal recollections of its author's father. It has been edited by Mrs. Beveridge" (R. A. S., 1902).

(iv) *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta also supplies the gaps in Babur's *Memoirs*. The account, says Rushbrooke Williams, "is sane, accurate, and well-balanced". For an English translation of it see Col. Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India till the year A. D. 1612*, vol. II, pp. 1–69. Longmans (1829).

B. Secondary : (i) Erskine, *A history of India under the First two Sovereigns of the House of Taimur, Baber and Humayun,*' vol. I. Longmans (1854).

(ii) Lane-Poole, *Babur*, Rulers of India Series, O. U. P. (1899).

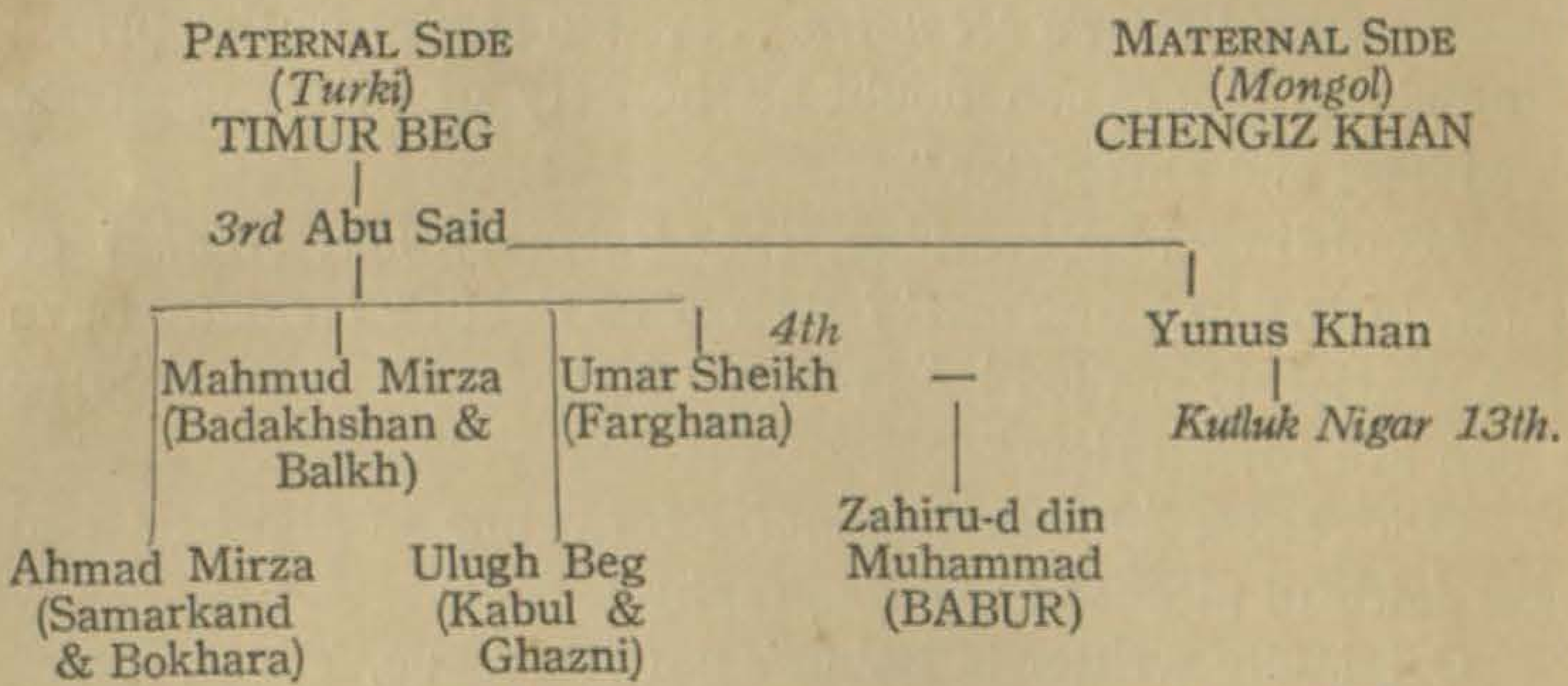
(iii) Rushbrooke Williams, *An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century,*' Longmans (1918).

(iv) Edwardes, S.M., *Babur : Diarist and Despot*, Philpot, (London).

Note :—The bibliographies given in this book are not exhaustive. Only such works as are considered most essential have been included. Fuller guidance is to be had in the works herein cited.

Elliot and Dowson's *The History of India as told by Its own Historians*, contains valuable extracts from various original sources in translation. (8 vols. Trübner, 1877).

GENEALOGY



Note :—It will be seen from the above that Babur was *fifth* in descent from Timur and *fourteenth* from Chengiz Khan, both of them great conquerors and scourges of Asia.

2. It is also to be noted that Babur was a *Turk* from his father's side, and a *Mongol* from his mother's side. *Turki* is therefore a more accurate term for Babur's dynasty, than *Mughal.* Mughal or Mogul is the Persian and Indian form of Mongol.

3. 'Babur' was the cognomen given to his grandson by Yunus Khan. In Turki it means 'tiger'.

(For a history of Timur and Chengiz Khan and their descendants prior to Babur, see Erskine, *A History of India under the First Two Sovereigns of the House of Taimur*, vol. I, pp. 8-76).

CHAPTER I

INDIA AS BABUR FOUND HER

'It is a remarkably fine country; it is quite a different world compared with our countries.'

So wrote Babur in his *Tuzak* or *Wakiat*, a work which Elphinstone characterises as "almost the only piece of real history in Asia."[1] It is the work, besides, of "a man of genius and observation, and presents his countrymen and contemporaries in their appearance, manners, pursuits, and actions, as clearly as in a mirror...... In Babur the figures, dress, tastes, and habits of each individual introduced are described with such minuteness and reality that we seem to live among them, and to know their persons as well as we do their characters. His descriptions of the countries he visited, their scenery, climate, productions, and works of art and industry, are more full and accurate than will, perhaps, be found, in equal space, in any modern traveller; and, considering the circumstances in which they were compiled, are truly surprising."[1]

Such as it is, it is strange that no historian of Mughal India has, thought fit to commence his description of the country, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, with the live pictures given by the founder of the dynasty in his *Memoirs*.

Natural conditions.

'Hindustan,' writes Babur, 'is situated in the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd climates. No part of it is in the 4th. It is a remarkably fine country. It is quite a different world, compared with our countries. Its hills and rivers, its forests and plains, its

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 438.

animals and plants, its inhabitants and their languages, its winds and rains, are all of a different nature. You have no sooner passed the river Sindh than the country, the trees, the stones, the wandering tribes, the manners and customs of the people are entirely those of Hindustan.'

His first experience of this strange land, however, was not unlike that of any other stranger. He thought, 'The country and towns of Hindustan are extremely ugly. All its towns and lands have a uniform look: its gardens have no walls; the greater part of it is a level plain. The banks of its rivers and streams, in consequence of the rushing of the torrrents that descend during the rainy season, are worn deep into the channel, which makes it generally difficult and troublesome to cross them. In many places the plain is covered by a thorny brush-wood to such a degree that the people of the *parganas*, relying on these forests, take shelter in them, and trusting to their inaccessible situation, often continue in a state of revolt, refusing to pay their taxes.

'In Hindustan, the populousness and decay, or total destruction of villages, nay, of cities, is almost instantaneous. Large cities that have been inhabited for a series of years (if, on an alarm, the inhabitants take to flight), in a single day, or a day and a half, are so completely abandoned, that you can scarcely discover a trace or mark of population.

'The climate during the rains is very pleasant. On some days it rains ten, fifteen, and even twenty times. During the rainy season inundations come pouring down all at once and form rivers, even in places where, at other times, there is no water. While the rains continue on the ground, the air is singularly delightful, in so much that nothing can surpass its soft and agreeable temperature.

'Its defect is that the air is rather moist and damp. During the rainy season you cannot shoot, even with the bow of our country, and it becomes quite useless; the coats of mail, books, clothes, and furniture, all feel the bad effects of the moisture. The houses, too, suffer from not being substantially built.

'There is pleasant enough weather in the winter and summer, as well as in the rainy season; but then the north-wind always blows, and there is an excessive quantity of earth and dust flying about. When the rains are at hand, this wind blows five or six times with excessive violence, and such a quantity of dust flies about that you cannot see one another. They call this an *āndhi*.

'It grows warm during *Taurus* and *Gemini*, but not so warm as to become intolerable. The heat cannot be compared to the heats of Balkh and Kandahar. It is not above half so warm as in these places.'

Economic conditions.

Nevertheless, 'The chief excellence of Hindustan is that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver .... Another convenience of Hindustan is that the workmen of every profession and trade are innumerable, and without end. For any work or any employment, there is always a set ready, to whom the same employment and trade have descended from father to son for ages.'[1]

The economic condition was certainly such as to tempt an adventurer like Babur. The *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, a work of the reign of Jahangir, contains a description of the prosperity of India at the time of Babur's invasion. 'One of the most extraordinary phenomena of Sultan Ibrahim's time,' it says, 'was that corn, clothes, and every kind of merchandise were cheaper than they had ever been known to be in any other reign, except perhaps in the time of Sultan Alau-d din Khilji; but even that is doubtful......... Ten *mans* of corn could be purchased for one *bahloli*; five *sirs* clarified butter, and ten yards of cloth, could be purchased for the same coin. Everything else was in the same exuberance; the reason of all which was that rain fell in the exact quantity which was needed, and the crops were consequently luxuriant, and produce increased ten-fold beyond the usual proportion.........A respectable man with a family dependent

1. E. & D., *The History of India as told by Its own Historians*, IV, pp. 221-23.

on him might obtain wages at the rate of five *tankas* a month. A horseman received from twenty to thirty (*tankas*) as his monthly pay. If a traveller wished to proceed from Delhi to Agra, one *bahloli* would, with the greatest ease, suffice for the expenses of himself, his horse, and escort.'[1]

Allowance being made for overstatement, this should enable us to visualise the comparative affluence of the period. An account of the political condition of the country will complete the description of India as Babur found her in 1526 A. D.

Political Condition.

'The capital of Hindustan' writes Babur, 'is Delhi. From the time of Sultan Shihabu-d din Ghori to the end of Sultan Firoz Shah's time, the greater part of Hindustan was in the possession of the Emperor of Delhi. At the period when I conquered that country five Musalman kings and two Pagans exercised royal authority. Although there were many small and inconsiderable *Rais* and *Rajas* in the hills and woody country, yet these were the chief and the only ones of importance.'[2]

A.—MUSALMAN KINGS

1. *Delhi.*—'One of these powers was the Afghans, whose government included the capital, and extended from Bahrah to Bihar...Sultan Bahlol Lodi Afghan, and his son Sultan Sikandar,...seized the throne of Delhi, as well as that of Jaunpur, and reduced both kingdoms under one government.'

2. *Gujarat.*—'The second prince was Sultan Muhammad Muzaffar, in Gujarat. He had departed this life a few days before Sultan Ibrahim's defeat (at Panipat, 1526). He was a prince well-skilled in learning, and fond of reading the *hadis* (or traditions). He was constantly employed in writing the Kuran. They call this race Tang. Their ancestors were cup-bearers to the Sultan Firoz that has been mentioned,

1. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 47-65.

2. Ibid., p. 259.

and his family. After the death of Firoz they took possession of the throne of Gujarat.'

3. *Bahmanis.*—' The third kingdom is that of the Bahmanis in the Dekhin, but at the present time the Sultans of the Dekhin have no authority or power left. All the different districts of their kingdom have been seized by their most powerful nobles; and when the prince needs anything, he is obliged to ask it of his own *Amirs*.'

4. *Malwa.*—' The fourth king was Sultan Mahmud, who reigned in the country of Malwa, which they likewise call Mandu. This dynasty was the Khilji. Rana Sanka, a Pagan, had defeated them and occupied a number of their provinces. This dynasty also had become weak.'

5. *Bengal.*—' The fifth prince was Nusrat Shah, in the kingdom of Bengal. His father had been king of Bengal, and was a *saiyid* of the name of Sultan Alau-d din. He had attained this throne by hereditary succession. It is a singular custom in Bengal (however) that there is little of hereditary descent in succession to the sovereignty ...... whoever kills the king, and succeeds in placing himself on that throne, is immediately acknowledged as king; ..... the people of Bengal say, "We are faithful to the throne; whoever fills the throne we are obedient and true to it." As for instance, before the accession of Nusrat Shah's father, an Abyssinian (Muzaffar Shah Habshi), having killed the reigning king, mounted the throne, and governed the kingdom for some time (three years). Sultan Alau-d din killed the Abyssinian, ascended the throne, and was acknowledged as king. After Sultan Alau-d din's death, the kingdom devolved by succession to his son, who now reigned.[1]

1. Nasiru-d din Nusrat Shah was 'a prince of gentle disposition and strong natural affections, for he not only refrained from slaying, mutilating, or imprisoning his brother, but doubled the provision which his father had made for them.' He married a daughter of Ibrahim Lodi, and sheltered many an Afghan chief who fled from Delhi, after the battle of Panipat, and bestowed fiefs upon them. He sent Qutb Shah one of his nobles, in 1529, to make a demonstration against Babur, further details of which will be found in Ch. II, below.

'The five kings who have been mentioned,' says Babur, 'are great princes, and are all Musalmans, and possessed of formidable armies.'

B.—HINDU KINGS

1. *Vijayanagar.*—'The most powerful of the Pagan princes, in point of territory and army, is the Raja of Bijanagar.'

2. *Mewar.*—'Another is Rana Sanka, who has attained his present high eminence, only in these later times, by his own valour and his sword. His original principality was Chitor. During the confusion that prevailed among the princes of the kingdom of Mandu, he seized a number of provinces which had depended on Mandu, such as Rantpur (Rantambhor), Sarangpur, Bhilsan, and Chanderi.

'There were a number of other *Rais* and *Rajas* on the borders and within the territory of Hindustan; many of whom, on account of their remoteness, or the difficulty of access into their country have never submitted to the Musalman Kings.'[1]

Babur's omissions.

Such, in brief, is the description of India that we are able to gather from the writings of Babur himself. Very little is necessary to be added to make the situation, at the time of his invasion, more clear.

First may be pointed out the omission by Babur of the kingdoms of Khandesh, Orissa, Sindh, and Kashmir. With the former two Babur had nothing to do: Khandesh enjoyed a quiet prosperity under its Farukhi (Musalman) ruler; and Orissa (Hindu) was engaged in constant warfare with Bengal in the north and Vijayanagar in the south. Sindh was ruled by the Sumana Jams until 1520. Then Shah Beg Arghun, being driven away by Babur from Kandahar, took possession of it. His son Shah Hussein was defeated by Babur in 1527. Kashmir was a prey to internal factions; its nobles set up

1. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 259-62.

and pulled down puppet princes as it suited their interests. Muhammad Shah ruled Kashmir, from 1499 to 1526, with the help of his minister Malik Kaji Chakk. In the latter year the minister overthrew his master, to be himself overthrown in turn, within nine months, by rivals who obtained help from Babur's officers. Later, however, the factious nobles made common cause against their enemy and forced the Mughals to retire into the Punjab.

Secondly, of the rulers and Kingdoms mentioned by Babur it is worth saying a little more. Among the contemporary rulers of India Babur has chosen to make special mention of the Raja of 'Bijanagar' and 'Rana Sanka.' He characterises the former as 'the most powerful of the Pagan princes in point of territory and army'[1] but nevertheless, he was too distant from Babur for further notice. The latter had 'attained his present high eminence, ... by his own valour and his sword.' This valour and sword, however, were soon tried against Babur himself and found wanting. Besides defeating the Rana at Kanua (March, 1527), 'In the year 934 (A. H.), by the divine favour in the space of a few hours, I took by storm Chanderi, which was commanded by Maidani Rao (Medini Rai), one of the highest and most distinguished of Rana Sanka's officers, put all the Pagans to the sword, and from the mansion of hostility

1. The Empire of Vijayanagar comprised practically the whole of the present Madras Presidency with Mysore and all other States in the peninsula. When Krishna Deva Raya fought against Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur, for the possession of the Raichur Doab, on 19th May 1520, his army consisted of 703,000 infantry, 32,600 cavalry, and 551 war-elephants, besides an uncounted host of camp-followers, etc. Domingo Paes, the Portuguese visitor to Krishna Raya's capital, considered Vijayanagar 'the best provided city in the world'; and the King himself 'by rank a greater Lord than any by reason of what he possesses in armies, aud territories: He is the most feared and perfect King, that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners and receives them kindly, asking about all their affairs, whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice; gallant and perfect in all things, but subject to sudden fits of rage.' (Smith, op. cit., pp. 304-11.)

which it had long been, converted it into the mansion of the Faith, as will be hereafter more fully detailed.'[1]

Condition of South India.

Babur's unconscious tribute to Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagar (1509-29) was well deserved. Though this great prince of South India did not come into direct contact with the Mughal invader, he is worthy of remembrance because of his relations with the Bahmanis who are mentioned by Babur.

'But at the present time the Sultans of the Dekhin,' he truly observed, 'have no authority or power left. All the different districts of their kingdom have been seized by their most powerful nobles; and when the prince needs anything, he is obliged to ask it of his own *Amirs*.' The disruption of the Bahmanis was, among other reasons, due to the pressure of Vijayanagar, which, in its turn, was to fall a prey to Musalman hostility within half a century (1565) of the extinction of Bahmani as a single independent kingdom.

The last of the independent Bahmanis was Mahmud Shah (1482-1518), under whom the kingdom split up: Bijapur was the first to set up the Adil Shahi (1489); next came the Imad Shahi of Berar (1490); and the Nizam Shahi of Ahmadnagar followed suit (1490). After the death of Mahmud Shah (1518), four puppet princes were set up successively at Kulburga, the Bahmani capital, by Amir Barid the minister. Not content with this, Barid finally established the independent Barid Shahi of Bidar in 1526, the year of Babur's victory over Ibrahim Lodi.

Ferishta records the situation well: 'In the year 933 H. (1526 A. D.) the Emperor Babur conquered Delhi, upon which Ismail Adil Shah, Burhan Nizam Shah, and Kutb Shah (who was to found the Kutb Shahi of Golkonda in 1528) sent ambassadors to his court. Kaleem-ullah (last of the Bahmanis) also sent one of his companions, in disguise, with a petition to the Emperor; setting forth, that his kingdom had been usurped, and his person confined by rebellious

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 261.

servants; offering, if the Emperor of Delhi would relieve him from his distressed situation, to cede to him Daulatabad and the province of Berar. Babur, not being yet confirmed in his conquests, the kings of Malwa and Gujarat being still unsubdued, paid no attention to this request; but the circumstance coming to the knowledge of Amir Barid, he treated the king with greater rigour, who, making his escape to his uncle Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur, was received by him honourably in hopes of using his name to his own advantage; but the king, dissatisfied with his reception, retired to Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. Kaleem-ullah resided at Ahmadnagar till his death, and with him ended the dynasty of Bahmani.'[1]

The Deccan was thus pre-occupied at the time of Babur's invasion; being distracted and divided on the one hand by the protracted duel between Vijayanagar and Bahmani, and on the other by the internecine struggles between the various Musalman princes and factions (Sunni vs. Shia; Deccani vs. Foreigners—Arab, Turk, Persian, Mughal, and Abyssinian),—all contributing their share to weaken and paralyse the country by intrigue, fight, and assassination.[2]

The Portuguese were a new element in South Indian politics. Vasco de Gama opened a new era, as well as a new problem, for India, by reaching Calicut in 1497. His countrymen soon became a nuisance to the Muslim pilgrims bound for Jedda; they also became a menace to the Musalman kingdoms bordering on the Arabian Sea. In 1510, Albuquerque, their intrepid Governor, conquered Goa, then the principal port in the Bijapur territory. In 1530, the year in which Babur died, they assembled a large fleet at Bombay, proceeded to Daman and captured it. "The entry of this European nautical power," indeed, "created an unsettling factor" both in the commercial and political life of India.[3]

1. Briggs, II, pp. 558-9.

2. Bijapur alone lost 16,000 killed in the battle of Raichur, 19th May, 1520.

3. *Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 495. For details of Portuguese policy in India, see Smith, op. cit., pp. 332-4.

Condition of North India.

North India was in no better position to offer effective resistance to the invader. Both Malwa and Gujarat were constantly at war with the Rajputs under Rana Sanga and Medini Rai. In northern Malwa, particularly, the Rajputs had gained considerable ascendancy. Mahmud II, the reigning prince at the time of Babur's invasion, had secured the throne against his rivals, with the help of Medini Rai. Subsequently, jealous of the Rajputs, he tried to get rid of them with the assistance of Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat. Medini Rai secured the aid of Rana Sanga and inflicted a defeat upon the Musalmans. Mahmud was wounded and captured, but chivalrously restored to his throne. Yet, when Muzaffar of Gujarat died, in 1526, Mahmud unwisely supported Chand Khan (younger son of Muzaffar) against his abler elder brother Bahadur Shah. As a penalty for his backing the wrong horse, Bahadur Shah annexed Malwa to his own kingdom in 1531.

Bahadur Shah, who was to try conclusions with Babur's son, was growing formidable, unnoticed by the Mughal invader. In 1524, his father Muzaffar Shah had supplied Alam Khan, an uncle of Ibrahim Lodi, with a small force and a sum of money to contend for the throne of Delhi. But Bahadur Shah himself, being dissatisfied with his father, sought his fortune under Ibrahim Lodi, in 1526, when the latter was preparing for his fatal struggle. While the Gujarati adventurer distinguished himself in the preliminary skirmishing against the Mughals, he did not persist for long; evidently he was scared away by his patron's jealousy. Then he retreated to Jaunpur, where he heard of his father's death, and hastened home. There he busied himself with securing his father's throne and extending his influence in the south by dynastic marriages and political alliances with rival princes of Berar and Khandesh against Bidar and Ahmadnagar. In 1529, he also sheltered Jam Firuz of Sindh who had been driven away by Shah Beg Arghun, the fugitive from Babur already mentioned. In 1530, he received under his protection

Afghan refugees from Delhi; and fortified Diu against the Portuguese who had just taken Daman.

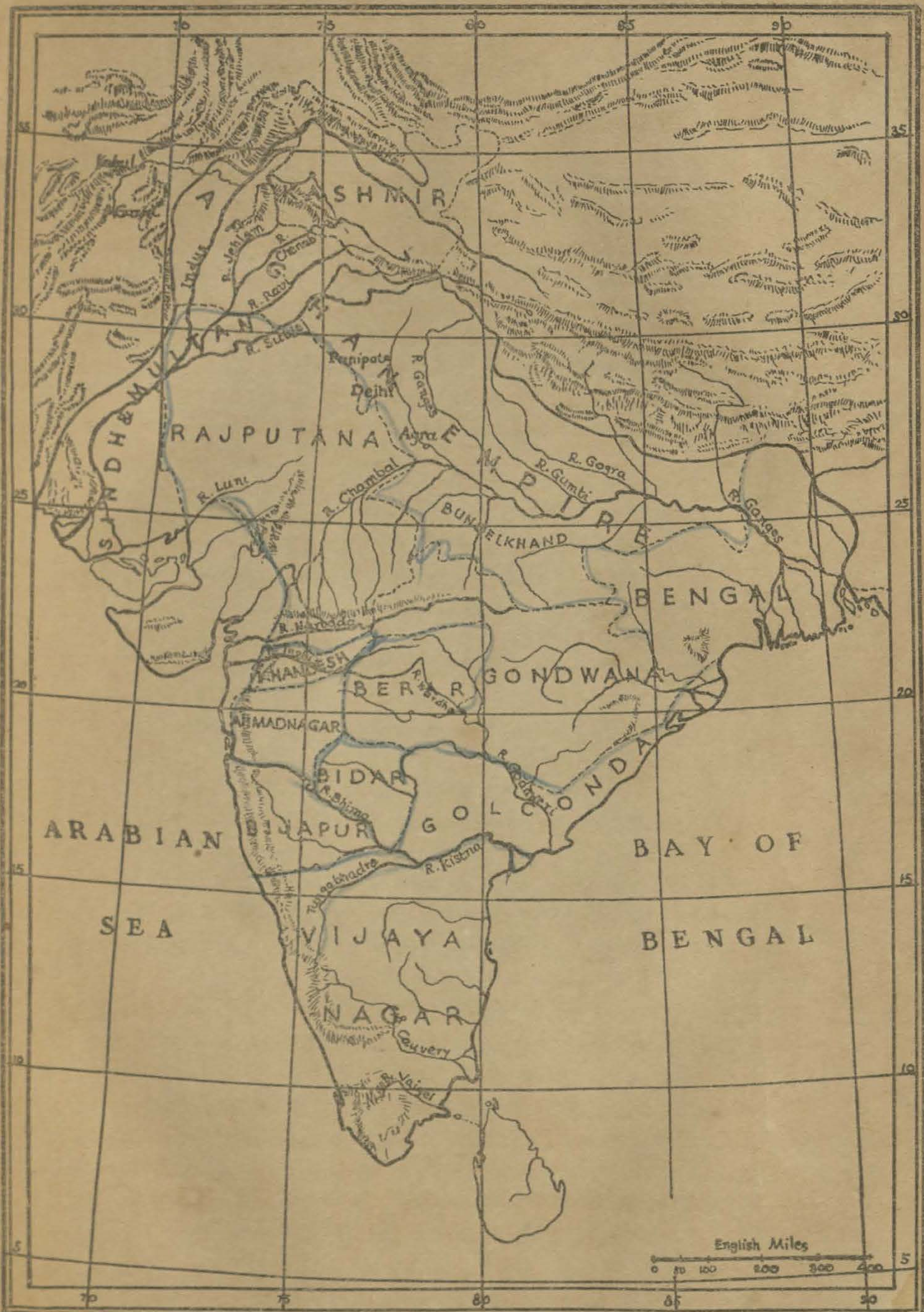
In Rajputana, Rana Sanga (or Sangrama Singh), who ascended the throne of Mewar (Chitor) in 1509, controlled directly or indirectly the entire resources of Rajasthan. 'Eighty thousand horse, seven *Rajas* of the highest rank, 104 chieftains with 500 war-elephants, followed him into the field.' In his reign Mewar reached the zenith of her glory. Eighteen pitched battles he fought against the kings of Delhi and Malwa; no force could face him in Hindustan. According to Sheikh Zain, 'There was not a single ruler of the first rank in all these great countries like Delhi, Gujarat, and Mandu, who was able to make head against him. The banners of the infidel flaunted over two hundred cities inhabited by people of the Faith.'[1]

Finally, we come to the kingdom of Delhi, India's political centre of gravity. When Ibrahim Lodi succeeded to his father's throne, Ahmad Yadgar says, 'Many nobles became aware of the king's fickle disposition and raised the standard of opposition.'[2] He disgusted his tribe by his pride, and alarmed his chiefs by his suspicious and tyrannical temper. From these causes his reign was continually disturbed by rebellions. At the commencement of it (1517) one of his brothers was proclaimed king at Jaunpur, was subdued in the course of a twelve month, and was privately executed by Ibrahim, who imprisoned his other brothers for life. A chief named Islam Khan next rebelled, and was killed in battle. Several men of rank and governors of provinces were executed for their share in these transactions. Others were put to death on suspicion; some were secretly made away with after being imprisoned; and one was assassinated at the seat of his government. These proceedings spread general distrust and disaffection; various chiefs revolted, and the whole of the eastern part of Ibrahim's dominion threw off its obedience, and formed a separate state under

1. Cited by Rushbrooke Williams, *An Empire Builder*, pp. 12-13.
2. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 14.

Darya Khan Lohani, whose son afterwards took the title of King. Daulat Khan Lodi, Governor of the Punjab, dreading the fate of so many other chiefs, revolted and called in the aid of Babur[1]. So also did Rana Sanga: "The Empire of Delhi was in confusion; it had become the prey of the strongest; and the former successes and mighty power of the Rana might secure to justify at once his hopes of seating himself on the vacant throne of the Lodis, and his more reasonable and glorious ambition of expelling both the Afghans and Turki invaders from India, and restoring her own Hindu race of kings, and her native institutions."[2]

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 420.
2. Erskine, *Babur and Humayun*, I, p. 462.



Sketch by Mr. V. N. Ambilekar.

INDIA AS BABUR FOUND HER [1526 A. D.]

CHAPTER II

HOW THE EMPIRE WAS FOUNDED

'Filled as I was by the ambition of conquest and broad sway, one or two reverses could not make me sit down doing nothing.'

—BABUR.

The Mughal Empire in India was founded in 1526, by Babur, who, according to all estimates, is one of the most fascinating personalities in all history. He spent the greater part of his life outside India; but though, as Lane-Poole says, his permanent place in history rests upon his Indian conquests, his earlier life (of which he has left an imperishable record in his *Memoirs*) constitutes an interest by itself not less valuable. "Given such a man," writes Flora A. Steele, "it would be sheer perversity to treat him solely in reference to the part he played in India, as this would be to deprive ourselves of no less than thirty-six years of the very best of company."

Babur's life falls into three definite periods: 1. Early adventures up to his conquest of Kabul (1494-1504); 2. Babur as King of Kabul (1504-25); and 3. Babur in India (1525-30).

I. EARLY ADVENTURES

Babur was born on Friday, February 14, 1483 (Muharram 6, 888 Hijra).

A.—Birth and Accession.

Babur's father Umar Sheikh, died on Monday, June 8, 1494 (Ramzan 4, 899 Hijra).

Babur's *Memoirs* begin with the sentence—'In the month of Ramzan of the year 899 (Hijra), in the twelfth year of my age, I became ruler in the country of Farghana.'

B.—Political Heritage.

Timur's empire had been divided up among his own descendants, as well as those of Chengiz Khan. Its principal kingdoms and rulers were all interrelated as follows:—

1. Tashkhend, Sairam, Shahrukhia were under Babur's elder maternal uncle, Mahmud Khan.

2. The region between Tashkhend and Yalduz was under Babur's younger maternal uncle, Ahmad Khan.

3. Samarkand and Bokhara were ruled by Babur's eldest paternal uncle, Ahmad Mirza.

4. Badakhshan, Hisar and Kunduz were ruled by Babur's elder paternal uncle, Mahmud Mirza.

5. Kabul and Ghazni were ruled by Babur's youngest paternal uncle, Ulugh Beg.

6. Khorasan and Herat were under Husain Mirza, the head of the House of Timur.

7. Farghana was the kingdom of which Babur's father, Umar Sheikh, was the ruler.

Yunus Khan, twelfth in descent from Chengiz Khan, had three daughters by his first wife. They were married respectively to Babur's two paternal uncles, Ahmad Mirza and Mahmud Mirza, and Babur's father Umar Sheikh. Kutluk Nigar was Babur's mother.

Both Yunus Khan and his wife, Ais-Daulat Begum, exercised considerable influence over Babur. About the former, Babur writes in his *Memoirs*: 'He had the most agreeable and refined manners and conversation such as are very seldom to be met with in the most polished society'; and about the latter, 'Few amongst women will have been my grandmother's equals for judgment and culture; she was very wise and far-seeing, and most affairs of mine were carried through by her advice'.

Babur combined in himself the ferocity of the Mongol, 'the courage and capacity of the Turk', and the polished urbanity of the Persians—which were all inherited traits.

Farghana, with Andijan as its capital, was, as above noticed, Umar Sheikh's kingdom. It was a fertile tract of country on the Jagzartes, 50,000 sq. miles in extent (now Khokand in Russian Turkistan). But Babur's father was not satisfied with this. So he quarrelled with his eldest brother, Ahmad Mirza, who had received the largest share of the paternal dominions, viz., Samarkand and Bokhara.

In the midst of these quarrels, however, Umar Sheikh died of an accidental fall, while feeding his pigeons (Monday 8th June, 1494). This fatal event synchronised with the invasion of Farghana by Babur's paternal and maternal uncles, Ahmad and Mahmud Mirza, respectively.

Though Babur was hardly twelve years of age at this time, he was saved from the critical situation by the loyalty of his subjects. He gratefully records: 'They (i. e., his enemies) found in our soldiers and peasantry a resolution and singlemindedness such as would not let them flinch from making offering of their lives so long as there was breath and power in their bodies'.

C.—Samarkand.

Samarkand, the city of Timur, (then ruled by his uncle Ahmad Mirza) exercised the greatest fascination over the ambitious son of Umar Sheikh. It was to the west of Farghana, a city five miles in circuit, noted for its learning, and possessed of a great astronomical observatory (built by Ulugh Beg), and had celebrated colleges, baths and mosques. According to Babur 'even the baker's shops (of Samarkand) are excellent and the cooks are skilful'.

In July 1494, when Ahmad Mirza died, Babur set his heart upon the conquest of Samarkand. However, not until two years later could he make his first effort (July, 1496), and even then not successfully. But this attempt marked an important stage in Babur's life.

Next year (1497), though only for a while, Babur succeeded in his ambition. He captured Samarkand and kept it for a hundred days. Then there was rebellion in Farghana, which cost him both the kingdoms: 'Thus for the sake of Farghana I had given up Samarkand, and now found I had lost the one without securing the other'.

D.—Wanderings.

After this, Babur became a wanderer for two years. As he himself writes, ever since he was eleven years of age, he 'never spent two festivals of the Ramzan, in the same place'; or in the words of Ferishta, 'the football of fortune, like a king on a chess-board, he moved about from place to place, buffeted about like a pebble on the sea-shore.'[1] But wherever he went, Babur was always cheerful, always kindly, always ready to enjoy the beauties of nature,—especially 'a wonderful, delicate, and toothsome melon with a mottled skin like shagreen'.

In 1498, he won Farghana back, though he had to lose it again in 1500, because of an attempt to restrain his greedy 'Mughal rascals' from plundering. 'It was a senseless thing,' he writes, 'to exasperate so many men with arms in their hands. *In war and in state-craft a thing may seem reasonable at first sight, but it needs to be weighed and considered in a hundred lights before it is finally decided upon.* This ill-judged order of mine was, in fact, the ultimate cause of my second expulsion'.

Once more, therefore, he had to seek refuge 'by dangerous tracks among rocks. In the steep and narrow ways and gorges which we had to climb, many a horse and camel dropped and fell out ...... We passed on, nevertheless, with incredible labour, through fearful gorges and tremendous precipices, until after a hundred agonies and losses, at last we topped those murderous steep defiles and came down on the borders of Kan, with its lovely expanse of lake'.

During 1500-1 he captured Samarkand for a second time, married his cousin Ayesha, had by her a daughter, 'who in a month or forty days went to partake of the mercy of God.' After this they parted : for, 'as my affections decreased, my shyness increased.'

Soon, Babur was defeated by Shaibani, the Uzbeg leader[2] at Sar-i-pul (Bridge Head), and again driven out of Samar-

1. Briggs, II, p. 23.

2. 'Shaibani or Shahi Beg was a princely adventurer, who first became Governor of Turkistan, and from that time forward, came into prominence as the great enemy of the Timurids in general, and of Babur in particular. His power, his cunning, his cruelty, made him a

kand within eight months. From 1502-4 he was once again a fugitive, with a following of only 'more than 200 and less than 300 men with clubs in their hands and tattered clothes on their backs.' In a garden he was once awaiting death; 'but soon found life and fortune.' The kingly blood in him carved out a kingdom in Kabul, in 1504.

II. KING OF KABUL (1504-1525)

'It was in the last ten days of the second Rabi (Oct. 1504) that without a fight, without an effort, by Almighty God's bounty and mercy, I obtained and made subject to me Kabul and Ghazni and their dependent districts.'

'During my residence at Kabul', he writes with great self-complacency, 'I passed my days in such entire absence of care, as I never did at any other time or do now.' So he assumed, in 1507, the title of Padshah or Emperor, which had never been borne by any Timurid before him: 'Up to that date people had styled Timur Beg's descendants *Mirza* even when they were ruling; now I ordered that people should style me *Padshah*'.

'The adoption of this new title marked an important change in his political ideas.'[1]

The same year (1507), Babur conquered Kandahar and bestowed it upon his younger brother Nasir, who, however, soon lost it within a week. It was not reconquered finally until fifteen years later.

Babur still yearned for Samarkand. This year (1507) also he paid a visit to his cousins in Herat which was 'the home of culture and ease'.[2] 'In the whole habitable world', says Babur, 'there is not such another city'. But his object in going there was to see if he could secure their help in

most formidable opponent; and until the hand of death finally removed him, he was to constitute an insupportable barrier to the career of the young prince of Farghana.' (Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 44.)

1. Ishwari Prasad, *A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 295.

2. 'Herat,' says Khwandamir, 'is the eye—the lamp that illumines all other cities; Herat is the soul to the World's body; and if Khorasan be the bosom of the earth, Herat is confessedly its heart.'

making yet another effort against Shaibani. He, however, soon realised that 'the brave barbarian from the north' was not to be vanquished by men like these. The Mirzas, although accomplished and having a charming talent for conversation and society, 'possessed no knowledge whatever of the conduct of a campaign or of warlike operations, and were perfect strangers to the preparations for a battle, and the dangers and spirit of a soldier's life.'

On his way back, Babur met with 'such suffering and hardship as I had scarcely endured at any other time of my life.' Nevertheless, in 1511-12, he had the satisfaction of winning Samarkand, Bokhara, and Khorasan, for the last time, with the help of Shah Ismael Safavi of Persia.

In Rajib, 917 Hijra (Oct. 1511) Babur re-entered Samarkand 'in the midst of such pomp and splendour as no one has ever seen or heard of before or ever since.'[1] Babur's dominions now reached their widest extent: from Tashkhend and Sairam on the borders of the deserts of Tartary, to Kabul and Ghazni near the Indian frontier, including Samarkand, Bokhara, Hisar, Kunduz and Farghana.

But this glory was as shortlived as it was great. After flying from one part of his dominions to another, losing everywhere, he returned to Kabul in 1513–14.

The Shah had exacted from him a very heavy price: Babur was to hold those kingdoms under the Shah; he was also to become a convert to the Shia faith and adopt all its symbols, as well as enforce the Shia creed on the orthodox Sunni subjects of the conquered kingdoms. Though Babur refused to persecute anybody for his religious faith, his own conversion led to his fall.

With this last discomfiture in the north and west, the second period of Babur's life comes to a close; after this he definitely turned to the south and east, viz., India.

Although he continued to sit on the throne of Kabul for another twelve years, the history of the period 1514–25 is of

1. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 246; cited by Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 131.

little interest to the student of Indian History, except in its bearing on Babur's Indian expeditions, to which we must now turn our attention.

'Kabul', writes Babur, 'is the intermediate point between Hindustan and Khorasan'. "Babur", according to Lane-Poole, "is the link between Central Asia and India, between predatory hordes and imperial government, between Tarmerlane and Akbar."[1]

III. BABUR IN INDIA (1525-1530)

Towards Hindustan.

'The great advantage of Hindustan,' Babur was aware, 'besides its vast extent of territory, is the amount of gold, coined and uncoined, which may be found there'. To Hindustan, therefore, he turned his wistful attention when, after the conquest of Kabul, he felt the need for supplies:

(1) In 1504, he marched along the Peshawar-Attok road, went through the Khyber, and then instead of crossing the river Indus, marched on Kohat. Here he found much booty which he seized.

(2) In September 1507, he resolved, after some discussion, to march in the direction of Hindustan. So, placing a cousin in charge of Kabul, he came as far as Adinapur (now Jalalabad), fighting his way among the Afghans and vainly attempting to subdue those 'robbers and plunderers even in time of peace'. The retreat of Shaibani emboldened Babur to return to his capital; and once more the advance into India was postponed.

(3) Sometime between 1514 and 1519, Babur profited by the example of Shah Ismael, determined to possess an effective artillery; and secured the services of an Ottoman Turk, named Ustad Ali, who became his Master of Ordnance.

Between 1520 and 1525, likewise, he secured another Turkish expert named Mustafa, for the same purpose.

These were clear indications of Babur's effective prepara-

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 9.

tions for the intended conquest of India. "If there was one single material factor, which more than any other, conduced to his ultimate triumph in Hindustan," observes Rushbrooke Williams, "it was his powerful artillery."[1]

(4) Babur again, in 1518, attempted reduction of the tribes and fortresses on the north-east of Kabul, as a preliminary to the conquest of Hindustan.

Five Expeditions.

The urge for definite conquest, however, came to him from one of his nobles, who said, 'Go on then and possess yourself of the noblest country in the universe. Establish beyond the river Indus the Empire which your fathers have marked out for you. Go and fix your Court in the centre of Hindustan and prefer the delights of the Indies to the hoar and snow of Tartary. Everything seems to invite you to the south; Providence has conducted you to Kabul and put you on the road to Hindustan; God and Muhammad engaged you to extinguish the idolatry of the Indians'.

The effect of this on Babur is best summed up in what he himself wrote after the battle of Panipat:—

'From the year 910 Hijra, when I obtained the principality of Kabul, up to the date of the events I now record, I had never ceased to think of the conquest of Hindustan. But I had never found a suitable opportunity for undertaking it, hindered as I was, sometimes by the apprehensions of my *Begs*, sometimes by disagreements between my brothers and myself. Finally, all these obstacles were happily removed. Great and small, *Begs* and captains, no one dared say a word against the project.

'So, in 925 Hijra (1519) I left at the head of an army, and made a start by taking Bajaur...... From this time to 932 Hijra (1526) I was always actively concerned in the affairs of Hindustan. I went there in person, at the head of an army, five times in the course of seven or eight years. The fifth time by the munificence and liberality of God, there fell beneath

1. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 111.

my blows an enemy as formidable as Sultan Ibrahim, and I gained the vast Empire of Hind'.[1]

The five expeditions referred to above were—

First Expedition: In 1519 he stormed Bajaur which fell after a spirited struggle, in which Babur's new artillery played a decisive part. 'By the favour and pleasure of the High God, this strong and mighty fort was taken in 2 or 3 hours; matching the fort were the utter struggle and effort of our braves; distinguish themselves they did, and won the name and fame of heroes'.

Babur looked upon this as the first step on the road to Hindustan. If here he indulged in wholesale massacre, it was to make an example. When he proceeded further to Bhira, on the Jhelum, he acted with great restraint: 'As it was always in my heart to possess Hindustan, and as these several countries had once been held by the Turks, I pictured them as my own, and was resolved to get them into my own hands, whether peacefully or by force. For these reasons it being imperative to treat the hillmen well, this order was given: Do no hurt or harm to the flocks and herds of these people, nor even to their cotton ends and broken needles'.

He despatched Mulla Murshid to Sultan Ibrahim 'giving him the name and style of ambassador, to demand that the countries which from old times had belonged to the Turks should be given up to me.' The Mulla was also given letters for Daulat Khan, Governor of the Punjab. 'But the people of Hindustan, and particularly the Afghans', writes Babur, 'are a strangely foolish and senseless race. This person, sent by me, Daulat Khan detained sometime in Lahore, neither seeing him himself, nor suffering him to proceed to Sultan Ibrahim; so that my envoy, five months after, returned to Kabul without having received any answer.'

Babur quitted India, leaving Bhira in the charge of Hindu Beg; but the latter was soon (1519) expelled by the natives.

1. Cf. Ibid., p. 113, n. 2.

Second Expedition: The same year, in September, Babur again marched through the Khyber, in order to subdue the Yusufzai and provision Peshawar fort as a base for future operations in Hindustan. But he was recalled by disturbing news from Badakhshan, which came into Babur's possession in 1520.

Third Expedition: For the third time Babur marched, in 1520, through Bajaur towards Bhira. Subduing the recalcitrant Afghan tribes on the way, he proceeded to Sialkot, which submitted without striking a blow. The people of Saiyidpur defied Babur, but were easily subdued. However, Babur had to hastily retrace his steps again to fight Shah Beg Arghun, ruler of Kandahar.

After two unsuccessful efforts, Babur finally acquired Kandahar, in 1522, through the treachery of its Governor, Maulana Abdul Bagi. Shah Beg established himself in Sindh,and Kamran (Babur's second son) was put in charge of Kandahar.

Fourth Expedition: Thus, thoroughly secure at home, Babur for the fourth time invaded India, in 1524. Daulat Khan, Governor of the Punjab, was growing very powerful. Sultan Ibrahim had summoned him to Delhi. But Daulat Khan offended him by not appearing in person. To protect himself from the Sultan's wrath, Daulat Khan sent his son Dilawar Khan, to invite Babur to dethrone Ibrahim Lodi in favour of his uncle Alam Khan (or Alau-d din).

Babur readily fell in with this invitation, and marched once more into the valleys of the Jhelum and the Chenab. Lahore and Dipalpur soon fell into his hands. Daulat Khan was defeated by the Delhi forces and driven into exile. But he came back and sought reinstatement at the hands of the invader. Babur, however, offered him only Jalandhar and Sultanpur instead. Daulat Khan felt disappointed, and the fiefs were bestowed upon his more reliable son Dilawar Khan. Dipalpur was given to Alam Khan.

Daulat Khan and his second son Ghazi Khan fled to the hills, only to return in the wake of Babur's withdrawal. They recaptured Sultanpur from Dilawar, and Dipalpur from Alam

Khan. Ibrahim's attempt to subdue Daulat Khan proved unsuccessful. But Babur's Lahore detachment inflicted a defeat upon him.

On account of this unsettled state, Alam Khan fled to Kabul and once again sought Babur's aid to seat himself on the throne of Delhi. In return Babur was promised sovereignty over Lahore and the west Punjab.

Alam Khan returned to India with this understanding. But the wily Daulat won him over. The two Khans accordingly marched on Delhi, only to be disgracefully routed by the Sultan.

Fifth Expedition: Babur now crossed the frontier for the last time (Nov. 1525), with the largest army he had ever led into Hindustan. Humayun was with him, with a contingent from Badakhshan. Crossing the Jhelum, the Lahore army also joined him. All told, his following numbered not more than 12,000 of whom perhaps only 8,000 were effectives.

Sialkot had been lost. His generals in India had gathered together at Lahore. But Daulat Khan alone had taken the field with not less than 40,000 men. Ibrahim Lodi was soon to confront him with 1,00,000 men and a large number of war-elephants.

However, Daulat Khan's forces melted away at Babur's mere approach. Babur had nothing more to do with him than to upbraid him for his treacherous conduct. Death soon snatched away Daulat Khan altogether from the field.

On February 26, 1526, Humayun won his spurs for the first time, against an advance division of the Imperial forces. Ibrahim was coming from Delhi, and Babur from Sirhind and Ambala. On April 1, again Babur's men encountered a cavalry division of the Sultan and crushed it. From April 12 to 19, one whole week, the two armies faced each other, with little action, near Panipat—'the plain intended by Nature to be the battlefield of nations.'

FIRST BATTLE OF PANIPAT

The battle was fought on April 21, 1526.

"On one side were the courage of despair, and something of the resources of scientific warfare; on the other side, men-at-arms of the mediaeval type, with crowded ranks of spear-men and archers thronging on in fool-hardy disorder."[1]

On April 19, a night attack by Babur's men failed.

On April 20, there was a scare in Babur's army, of being out-numbered by the Indian forces.

On April 21, the Imperial army, emboldened by the unimpressive conduct of the enemy, forged ahead. Owing to its large numbers, it had to converge suddenly; the wide front collapsed in confusion in re-adjusting itself before Babur's narrower entrenched position.

A keen master of strategy, Babur at once had recourse to *Tulghma*,[2] and simultaneous artillery action. The Mughals surrounded the Indians on all sides and attacked, routed and slaughtered. Seldom was a day 'so fought, so followed so fairly won.'

'The sun had mounted spear-high when the onset began and the battle lasted till mid-day, when the enemy were completely broken and routed, and my people victorious and triumphant. By the grace and mercy of Almighty God this difficult affair was made easy to me, and that mighty army, in the course of half a day, was laid in the dust.'

Result: Ibrahim lay dead on the field, together with Bikram, the Hindu Raja of Gwalior, "who had joined the Muslim Sultan in defence of their common country."[3]

(2) 6,000 corpses were counted near where the Sultan was found dead; 15 or 16 thousand had died in different parts of the field. 'On reaching Agra, we found from the

1. Keene, *History of India*, I, p. 76.

2. This was the usual Uzbeg tactic: first turning the enemy's flank, then charging simultaneously on front and rear, letting fly the arrows at a breakneck gallop, and if repulsed retiring at top-speed. Babur learnt this from Shaibani, at the battle of Sar-i-pul and learnt to use it with deadly effect in India. (Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 57.) For plan of battle see Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 131.

3. Keene, loc. cit.

accounts of the natives of Hindustan, that 40,000 or 50,000 men had fallen in the field.'[1]

(3) "The land simply changed masters after one supreme effort."[2]

"To the Afghans of Delhi the battle of Panipat was their Cannae. It was the ruin of their dominion, the end of their power."[3]

(4) The battle of Panipat marks the end of the second stage in Babur's conquest of Hindustan.

Reasons: Ibrahim Lodi, though not lacking in personal valour, was, in Babur's estimation, 'an inexperienced young man careless in his movements, who marched without order, halted or retired without method, and engaged without foresight.'

(2) The week when the two armies lay facing each other, went in Babur's favour: it gave his men time to regain their self-confidence.

(3) The Delhi army had come up too precipitately without a halt from the start. It was not disciplined enough for orderly re-adjustments to given situations. A sudden attempt in this direction threw its vast numbers into utter confusion.

(4) Babur was, on the contrary, a tried and resourceful commander, and his veterans were seasoned and disciplined warriors. "His men began the battle in no small alarm: it was their Emperor's cool science and watchful tactics that restored their confidence and gave them back their pluck."[4]

(5) Ibrahim's war-elephants and vast numbers were more a source of weakness than strength against Babur's scientific combination of cavalry and artillery. The last was used in India for the first time by Babur.[5]

1. E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 255.
2. Keene, op. cit.
3. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 166.
4. Ibid.
5. Babur's description of the reception of the fire-arms at Bajaur is interesting:—

'The people of Bajaur,' he writes, 'had never seen matchlocks, and at first were not in the least afraid of them; but, hearing the reports

The sequel.

After the victory Babur at once despatched Humayun, with Khwaja Kalan, to Agra, and another party to take charge of the forts and treasure of Delhi. On Friday, April 27, the *khutba* was read in his name at Delhi.

Marching with the main army, Babur halted on the Jumna, opposite Delhi, in order to visit the tombs of Muslim saints and heroes. 'On Thursday, the 28th Rajab (May 10th), about the hour of afternoon prayers, I entered Agra, and took up my residence in Sultan Ibrahim's palace'. Here Babur received from Humayun, among other treasures, a diamond (Koh-i-noor ?) valued at 'half the daily expenditure of the whole world.'[1] But the father, in generous recognition of his son's services, presented it to Humayun together with other gifts worth 70,00,000 *dāms* (or £ 20,000). 'A *pargana* of the value of seven *lacs* was bestowed on Ibrahim's mother. *Parganas* were also given to each of her *Amirs*. She was conducted with all her effects to a palace, which was assigned for her residence, about a *kos* below Agra.[2] His *Begs* received six to ten *lacs* apiece (£ 1,700 to £ 2,800). Every soldier got his share of the booty. Even traders and camp-followers were not forgotten in the bounty, including those who were absent. Friends in Farghana, Khorasan, Kashghar, and Persia were surprised with

of the shots, stood opposite the guns, mocking and playing unseemly antics. But, that day Ustad Ali Kuli (the chief gunner) brought down five men with his matchlock, and Wali Kazin killed two and the other musketeers shot well and bravely, ... and aiming so truly that before night seven to ten Bajauris were laid low, whereupon defenders of the fort became so frightened that not a man ventured to show his head for fear of the matchlockmen.'

1. Tavernier valued it at £880,000 (Erskine, op. cit., I, p. 438). It had originally belonged to Sultan Alau-d din Khilji of Malwa. It was taken by Raja Bikramjit of Gwalior who had fallen on the field of Panipat. Now the Gwalior army presented it to Humayun as ransom while he besieged Agra (E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 257).

It weighed 8 *miskals* or 224 rati (672 carats). Aurangzeb's diamond presented to him by Mir Jumla, weighed 900 carats. (Briggs, II, pp. 46-7)

2. E. & D., loc. cit.

gifts of gold and silver, cloth and jewels, and captive slaves. Holy men in Herat, Samarkand, Mecca and Medina got their offerings; and every person in Kabul, man and woman, slave and free, young and old, received a silver coin as a memento of the victory. The balance was stored up in the vaults of the capital for the support of the army and administration.[1]

POST-PANIPAT PROBLEMS

The Afghans.

'When I first arrived in Agra, there was a strong mutual dislike and hostility between my people and the men of the place. The peasantry and soldiers of the country avoided and fled from my men. Afterwards, everywhere, except only in Delhi and Agra, the inhabitants fortified different posts, while the governors of towns put their fortifications in a posture of defence, and refused to submit or obey.' The nature of the situation he was confronted with, after his victory at Panipat is best described in his own words :—

(*a*) 'Kasim Sambhali was in Sambhal,

(*b*) 'Nizam Khan in Bayana,

(*c*) 'the Raja Hasan Khan Mewati himself in Mewat. 'That infidel was the prime mover and agitator in all these confusions and insurrections.

(*d*) 'Kanauj, with the whole country beyond the Ganges, was entirely in the possession of refractory Afghans, such as Nasir Khan Lohani, Ma'ruf Farmuli,[2] and a number of other

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., pp. 166-7.

2. Sheikh Rizkhulla Mushtaki (1492-1581 A.D.) in his *Wakiat-i-Mushtaki* characterises this Mian Ma'ruf Farmuli in the following terms: 'He was a saintly, courageous, and generous man. From the time of Sultan Bahlol to that of Islam Shah, he fought in every battle-field but aways escaped without a wound. He would accept of no reward or present from any king (as he was working 'solely in the cause of God') and would never eat food from the house of any Hindu.' For interesting anecdotes illustrating this character, see E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 548-9.

Amirs who had been in a state of open rebellion for two years before the death of Ibrahim.

'At the period I defeated that prince, they had overrun, and were in possession of Kanauj and the country in that quarter, and had advanced and encamped two or three marches on this side of Kanauj. They elected Bihar Khan (or Bahadur Khan), the son of Darya Khan, as their King, and gave him the name of Sultan Mahmud. When I came to Agra we could not find grain or provendor, either for ourselves or for our horses. The villagers, out of hostility for us, had taken to rebellion, thieving, and robbery. The roads became impassable.

'I had not time, after the division of treasure, to send proper persons to occupy and protect the different *parganas* and stations.' To make matters worse, the heat was abnormal that year, and many of Babur's men dropped down dead. Not a few of his *Begs* and best men began to lose heart, objected to remaining in Hindustan, and even began to make preparations for retreat. 'I no sooner heard this murmuring among my troops, than I summoned all my *Begs* to a council. I told them that, by Divine power, I had routed my formidable enemy and achieved the conquest of the numerous provinces and kingdoms which we at present held. And now, what force compels, and what hardship obliges us, without any visible cause, after having worn out our life in accomplishing the desired achievement, to abandon and fly from our conquests, and to retreat back to Kabul with every symptom of disappointment and discomfiture ? "Let not any one who calls himself my friend, ever henceforward make such a proposal. But if there is any one among you who cannot bring himself to stay, or give up his purpose of returning back, let him depart." Having made this fair and reasonable proposal, the discontented were of necessity compelled, however unwillingly, to renounce their seditious purposes.'

The final subjugation of the Afghans had to be deferred in the face of a more formidable foe.

The Rajputs.

Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar, popularly known as Rana Sanga,[1] and Medini Rai of Chanderi, were two tough warriors under whose leadership the Rajputs had determined to drive out the insolent invader.

The fact that Muslims like Hasan Khan Mewati, and Sultan Mahmud Lodi (brother of Ibrahim Lodi) had joined with the Rana, made it apparent that it was not a war of the Hindus against the Muhammadans, but a united national effort against a common enemy of the country.

Ahmad Yadgar, in his *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i Afghana* writes: 'Rana Sanga who was at that time a powerful chief, sent a message to Hasan Khan saying, "The Mughals have entered Hindustan, have slain Sultan Ibrahim, and taken possession of the country; it is evident that they will likewise send an

1. 'Rana Sanga was the head of the Rajput principality of Chitor, and the representative of a family which, by universal consent of the Rajputs, is allowed the pre-eminence among all the Rajput tribes as the most ancient and the noblest. Like Babur, he had been educated in the school of adversity. After overcoming the many difficulties and dangers of his early life, when he at length mounted the throne, he carried on successful wars with his neighbours on every side, and added largely to his hereditary dominions. From Sultan Mahmud Khilji, the king of Malwa—whom he defeated in battle, took prisoner, and honourably entertained in a spirit worthy of the best days of chivalry—he had wrested the wide and valuable provinces of Bhilsa, Sarangpur, Chanderi and Rantambhor. He had engaged in hostilities with Sultan Ibrahim of Delhi, and twice had met the Sultan himself in pitched battles. Eighty thousand horses, seven Rajas of the highest rank, nine Raos, and one hundred and four chieftains bearing the titles of Rawul and Rawut, with five hundred war elephants, followed him into the field. The princes of Marwar and Amber did him homage, and the Raos of Gwalior, Ajmer, Sikri, Raisen, Kalpek, Chanderi, Bundi, Gagraon, Rampura, and Abu, served him as tributaries or held of him in fief. His personal figure corresponded with his deeds. He exhibited at his death but the fragment of a warrior; one eye was lost in the broil with his brother, an arm in an action with the Lodi King of Delhi, and he was a cripple owing to a limb being broken with a cannon-ball in another, while he counted eighty wounds from the sword or the lance on various parts of his body.' (Lane-Poole, op. cit., pp. 173-4.)

army against both of us; if you will side with me we will be alive, and not suffer them to take possession." [1]

But Babur himself looked upon this only as a holy war against the infidel, with whom had joined some Muslim apostates. This is indicated by his assumption of the title of *Ghazi* after the victory: 'After this victory, I used the epithet of *Ghazi*, in the Imperial titles.' This was necessary to arouse his disspirited and home-sick followers. Babur was a master of the art of persuasion, with a keen eye for the dramatic.

'A general consternation and alarm prevailed among great and small. There was not a single person who uttered a manly word, nor an individual who delivered a manly opinion. The *Wazirs*, whose duty it was to give good counsel, and the *Amirs* who enjoyed the wealth of kingdoms, neither spoke bravely, nor was their counsel or deportment such as became men of firmness.'

Preliminary skirmishes only confirmed the apprehensions of Babur's men, who had heard disconcerting stories of Rajput valour. Babur, as Lane-Poole points out, "was now to meet warriors of a higher type than any he had encountered. The Rajputs, energetic, chivalrous, fond of battle and bloodshed, animated by a strong national spirit, were ready to meet face to face the boldest veterans of the camp, and were at all times prepared to lay down their life for their honour."[2]

The forebodings of an astrologer, whom Babur describes as an 'evil-minded rascally fellow,' made things appear more ominous. But Babur rose equal to the situation, as always he had done:

'On Monday, the 23rd of the first Jumada, I had mounted to survey my posts, and, in the course of my ride, was seriously struck with the reflection that I had always resolved one time after another to make effectual repentance.' He had

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 35-6.
2. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 176.

been a confirmed toper;[1] now he determined to renounce wine forever. So, 'having sent for the gold and silver goblets and cups, with all the other utensils used for drinking parties, I directed them to be broken, and renounced the use of wine, purifying my mind. The fragments of the goblets, etc., I directed to be divided among the *derwishes* and the poor.'

1. Here is a typical passage from his *Memoirs*, wonderfully frank and joyous:—

Oct. 18: 'We halted at Jagdalik. Towards evening prayer there was a drinking party; most of the household were present. Near the end, G. M. grew very noisy and troublesome, and, when he got drunk, slid down on the cushion by my side, whereupon G. T. picked him up and carried him out.

Marching thence before day-break I explored the valley of the Baria-ab: some *turak* trees were in great beauty. We halted there and, having dined seasonably, we drank wine in honour of the rich crop. We made them kill a sheep picked up on the road, had some meat dressed, and amused ourselves by kindling oak branches.

Oct. 29: On Sunday I had a party in the small picture-cabinet over the gate. Though the room is very small we were sixteen.

Oct. 30: We went to Istalif to see the harvest. This day was done the sin of *Ma'jun* (i. e., I took *bhang*). During the night there was a great deal of rain: most of the *Begs* and household were obliged to take refuge in my tent outside the garden: Next morning we had a drinking party in the same garden: we continued at it till night.

Nov. 1: On the following motning we again had an early cup...... getting intoxicated, went to sleep. About noon-day prayers we left Istalif and took a drug (*bhang*) on the road. It was about afternoon prayers before we reached Bihazadi. The crops were extremely good. While we were riding round the harvest fields, those who were fond of wine began to contrive another drinking bout. Although *bhang* had been taken, yet as the crops were uncommonly fine, we sat down under some trees that had yielded a plentiful load of fruit and began to drink. We kept the party in the same place till bed-time prayers. Abdullah who had got very drunk and made an offensive remark, recovering his senses, was in terrible perturbation, and conversed in a wonderfully smooth and sweet strain all the rest of the evening.

Jan. 6, 1520: We embarked on a raft and alighted near the Garden of Fulfilment. Its oranges were yellowing well and the green of the plants was beautiful. We stayed five or six days there. *As I intended when forty years old to abstain from wine, and as now I wanted somewhat less than one year of that age, I drank wine most copiously.*

Salt was thrown into the store of wine just received from Ghazni; all the rest found in the camp was poured upon the ground; and a well was ordered to be dug, and an alms-house built on the spot, to commemorate this great religious event. As a boon to his Muhammadan followers and subjects, he gave up the *temgha* or stamp-tax in all his dominions so far as Muslims were concerned.

To 'stiffen the sinews, and summon up the blood' of his men Babur also made a stirring appeal to them in the following words :—

"Noblemen and soldiers! Every man that comes into this world is subject to dissolution...... How much better is it to die with honour than to live with infamy...... God Most High has been gracious in giving us this destiny, that if we fall we die martyrs, if we conquer we triumph in His Holy Cause. Let us swear with one accord that, by the Great Name of God, we will never turn back from such a death, or shrink from the stress of battle, till our souls are parted from our bodies."[1]

Jan. 7 : 'Mulla Yarak played an air, which he composed to the *Mukhammas* measure while I took my drug. It was charming. For sometime I had not much attended to musical matters. I took a fancy that I too should compose something.

Jan. 10 : 'While taking an early glass it was said in sport that whoever spoke like a Persian should drink a cup. In the result many drank. About nine in the morning, while we were sitting under willows in the meadow, it was proposed that everyone who spoke like a Turk should drink a cup; and numbers drank. When the sun mounted high we went under the orange trees and drank our wine on the bank.'

1. Cf. The *Bhagawad Gita*, Ch. II.—
'Nought better can betide a martial soul
Than lawful war; happy the warrior
To whom comes joy of battle—comes, as now,
Glorious and fair, unsought; opening for him
A gateway of Heaven ....
.... Either, being killed,
Thou wilt win *Swarga's* safety, or alive
And victor, thou wilt reign an earthly King.'

(Tr. Edwin Arnold.)

With fame, though I die, I am content
Let fame be mine, though life be spent"

To suit the action to his words, on New Year's Day (March 12, 1527) ' they took a number of Pagans and cut off their heads, which they brought in......This raised the spirits of the army wonderfully, and gave them confidence. They swore by the divorce of their wives, and on the Holy Book': they recited the *fatiha* and said, " O King! God willing, we will not spare ourselves in sacrifice and devotion, so long as breath and life are in our bodies."

Babur declared *Jihad* or holy war on the infidel, on February 11, 1527. The justification for it is to be found in the following statements :—

Jihad.

(i) 'Although Rana Sanka, the Pagan, when I was in Kabul, had sent me an ambassador with professions of attachment, and had arranged with me, that, if I would march from that quarter into the vicinity of Delhi, he would march from the other side upon Agra; yet, when I defeated Ibrahim, and took Delhi and Agra, the Pagan, during all my operations, did not make a single movement.'

(ii) On the other hand the Rana also complained of broken faith; and, in particular claimed Kalpi, Dholpur, Bayana, as well as Agra—all of which had been occupied by Babur.[1]

(iii) 'Rana Sanga, having reduced Nizam Khan of Bayana to great extremities, that chief sent a deputation to Babur, requesting his aid, for which he was ready to pay him due homage. The King did not hesitate to accept his allegiance, and sending a force to expel Sanga, Nizam Khan was confirmed in possession of Bayana, which was settled upon him, with all its dependencies, in consideration of his paying an annual tribute of twenty *lacs* of rupees.'[2]

The two armies met at Kanua (10 miles from Sikri; 20 from Agra) on Saturday, March 16, 1527.

Babur's arrangements were in the main similar to those at Panipat, with this difference, that guns this time were mounted on wheeled tripods to facilitate movement. A special

1. Erskine, op. cit., p. 462.
2. Briggs, II, p. 51.

feature in the disposition was also the great strength of the reserve. Babur in person led the centre, Humayun was on the right, and Mahdi Khwaja (Babur's brother-in-law?) on the left.[1]

The effectives on the Rajput side, no doubt, outnumbered their antagonists by seven or eight to one;[2] and, although Babur's army on this occasion was greater than the one he had commanded at Panipat, "the depression and vacillation which the Padshah was at pains to overcome proves that the average morale was not so good".[3]

Results: The victory of Babur, was nevertheless, final and complete. 'Hardly a clan of the Rajputs was there but had lost the flower of its princely blood.' Rana Sanga himself escaped badly wounded. The heads of the gallant Rajputs (who had been 'sent to hell') were built into a ghastly tower, and Babur, as previously stated, assumed the title of *Ghazi* or victor in holy war.

The consequences of the battle of Kanua were most momentous: (i) The menace of Rajput supremacy, which had loomed large before the eyes of the Muhammadans in India for the last ten years, was removed once for all. (ii) The Mughal Empire in India was now firmly established. In the words of R. Williams, "Babur had definitely seated himself upon the throne of Sultan Ibrahim and the sign and seal of his achievement had been the annihilation of Sultan Ibrahim's most formidable antagonists. *Hitherto the occupation of Hindustan might have been looked upon as an episode in Babur's career of adventure: but from henceforth it became the keynote of his activities for the remainder of his life.* His days of wandering in search of a fortune are now passed away: the fortune is his, and he has but to show himself worthy of it. And it is significant of the new stage in his career which this battle marks that never afterwards

1. For plan and details see, Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 150.
2. Whatever the exact numbers might have been "a more gallant army could not be brought into the field". (Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 180.)
3. Rushbrooke Williams, loc. cit., p. 152.

does he have to stake his throne and life upon the issue of a stricken field. Fighting there is, and fighting in plenty, to be done; but fighting for the extension of his power, for the reduction of rebels, for the ordering of his kingdom. It is never fighting for his throne.

(iv) "It is also significant," he further observes, "of Babur's grasp of vital issues that from henceforth *the centre of gravity of his power is shifted from Kabul to Hindustan* ... He resolutely remained in India for the rest of his days, fighting, governing, administering, striving to put all things upon a sound basis ere death called him away."[1]

(v) Within a year Babur had struck two decisive blows, which shattered the power of two great organised forces: the battle of Panipat had utterly broken the Afghan power in India; the battle of Kanua (also called Sikri) crushed the great Rajput Confederacy.[2]

Reduction of Rebels.

Babur commissioned his officers to subjugate the rest of the country, and sent them in various directions with small forces to help them. "These little bands fought with utmost zeal, conscious that they were making their own fortunes, while at the same time the territories thus acquired represented an extension of the dominions of their master."[3]

Humayun conquered Sambhal, Jaunpur, Ghazipur, and Kalpi; Muhammad Ali Jang-Jang captured Rabiri; Mahdi Khwaja subdued Etawa; Kanauj was taken by Sultan Muhammad Duldari; and Dholpur by Sultan Junaid Barlas. Sheikh Guren of Kol (Doab) was won over by promise of protection; Sheikh Bayazid—an important lieutenant of the Lodi king—was granted a *jagir* worth a *crore* of rupees in Oudh. Bayana and Gwalior had rallied round Babur for fear of the Rajputs; and the Lohani and Farmuli chiefs who had championed the cause of Sultan Mahmud, melted away

1. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., pp. 156-7.
2. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 182.
3. Rushbrooke Williams, loc. cit., p. 142.

before Babur's concentration of forces. Hasan Khan Mewati died on the field of Kanua.[1]

When Babur felt his grip on Hindustan sure beyond doubt he sent back Humayun to Badakhshan and other important officers to other parts of his dominions outside India. Kandahar, ever since its final conquest in 1522, was in Kamran's charge. Khwaja Kalan, Babur's old general, had been sent to Ghazni after the battle of Panipat. Askari was established in Multan when it was conquered in 1527. Hindal was at Kabul.

In February, 1529, Babur wrote to Khwaja Kalan in Afghanistan: 'The affairs of Hindustan have at length been brought to some degree of order, and I trust in Almighty God that the time is near at hand when, through His favour, everything will be quite settled here.' But after the battle of Kanua, and before Babur could realise the hope here expressed, there were at least three more enemies left to overcome:—

1. *Maidani Rai of Chanderi*: 'On Monday the 14th of the first Rabi, (Dec. 9, 1527) I set out in pursuance of a vow, on a holy war against Chanderi (near Bhopal)...Chanderi had formerly belonged to the Sultans of Mandu......When Rana Sanka advanced with an army against Ibrahim as far as Dholpur, that prince's *Amirs* rose against him and on that occasion Chanderi fell into Sanka's hands. He bestowed it on one Maidani Rai, a Pagan of great consequence, who was now in the place with 4000 or 5000 Pagans......I sent to him to assure him of my favour and clemency, and offering him Shamsabad in exchange for Chanderi. Two or three considerable people about him were averse to conciliation,......and the treaty broke off without success .... So, the citadel was attacked on all sides .... Some of our troops were attacked furiously, and put to the sword. The reason for this desperate

1. 'Babur bestowed on Hasan Khan's son a *pargana* of several *lacs* for his support'...'I bestowed on Chin Timur Sultan the city of Tajara, which was the capital of Mewat, granting him at the same time a settled provision of fifty *lacs* ....I bestowed the treasures of Alwar, with everything in the fort, upon Humayun.' (E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 273–4.)

sally from their works was, that, on giving up the place for lost, they put to death the whole of their wives and women, and, having resolved to perish, had stripped themselves naked,[1] in which condition they had rushed out to the fight; and engaging with ungovernable desperation, drove our people along the ramparts. Two or three hundred Pagans had entered Maidani Rai's house, where numbers of them slew each other. In this way *many went to hell*; and by the favour of God, in the space of two or three *gharis*, I gained this celebrated fort, without raising my standard, or beating my kettle-drum, and without using the whole strength of my arms. On the top of a hill to the north-west of Chanderi, *I erected a tower of the heads of Pagans*. . . . I gave Chanderi to Ahmad Shah, the grandson of Sultan Nasiru-d din, and fixed a revenue of fifty *lacs* to be paid from it to the Imperial treasury.' We also learn from Ahmad Yadgar: 'So much plunder was taken from that heathen army' by the *Amirs* 'that the King's troops obtained sufficient to support them for years.'[2]

2. *Afghan Rebels*: On February 2, 1528, Babur set out to punish the Afghan rebels who had advanced from Bihar into Doab, stormed Shamsabad,[3] and driven the Imperial garrison out of Kanauj. At Babur's approach, the enemy crossed the river Ganges and mustered on its left bank to dispute Babur's passage. The Emperor reached the great river, on February 27; built a bridge across its broad stream, by March 13, put the insurgents to headlong flight, and hotly pursued them as

1. Cf. Ahmad Yadgar who writes: 'The warriors of his vanguard, having already taken the fort, made captives of the connexions and family of the Raja, and despatched them to the foot of the royal throne. His Majesty presented two of the daughters of the Raja, whose beauty was unrivalled, who had never been exposed to the view of man, or to the hot winds; one to Mirza Kamran, the other to Prince Muhammad Humayun, and gave the others to the *Sardars* of the army.' (E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 39).

2. Ibid.

3. Babur had bestowed Shamsabad on Bikaramjit, the second son of Rana Sanga, in return for Rantambhor. (E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 281).

far as Oudh. After this Babur returned to Agra for the rainy season.

'On Thursday, the 3rd of the first Jumada, I received letters which contained intelligence that Mahmud, the son of Iskandar, had taken Bihar. On Thursday, the 17th, we marched eight *kos*, and halted at Dakdaki, a *pargana* of Karra, on the banks of the Ganges. . . . While in this neighbourhood, intelligence reached us in rapid succession, that Sultan Mahmud had gathered round him 100,000 Afghans, and was moving upon Chunar; that Sher Khan Sur, on whom I had bestowed marks of favour, to whom I had given several *parganas*, and whom I left in command in that quarter, had now joined these Afghans. . . . On the 24th, ... it appeard that the rebels had come and laid siege to Chunar; but that on getting the certain news of my approach, they were filled with consternation, broke up in confusion and raised the siege.'

3. *Nusrat Shah of Bengal*: After this the rebels sought refuge in Bengal. 'As I was at peace with Bengal, and had always been the first to enter into any understanding that had a tendency to confirm a friendly state of things,' Babur started negotiations with Nusrat Shah, the ruler of Bengal. Failing in this, he sent an ultimatum: 'If he refused to leave the passage open, and neglected to listen to the remonstrances which I made, then whatever evil fell on his head, he must regard that as proceeding from his own act; and he would have himself only to blame for any unpleasant circumstance that occurred.'

On May 6, 1529, the issue was decided finally at the battle of the Gogra (Buxar). The result was disastrous to the Bengalis: 'The Bengalis are famous for their skill in artillery. On this occasion we had a good opportunity of observing them. They do not direct their fire against a particular point, but discharge at random.' On Babur's side, "the movement was brilliantly carried out in the face of a determined resistance. Attacked in front and rear and flank, the enemy broke and fled. Good generalship had once more

guided valour to victory."[1] A treaty of peace was concluded with Bengal, according to which each party was to respect the sovereignty of the other and neither party was to shelter or support the other's enemies.

Sheikh Bayazid, who had throughout sided with the rebels, once more attacked Lucknow, but could not hold on for long: 'It appeared that on Saturday, the 12th of Ramzan, the enemy had made an attack, but could effect nothing. During the assault, some hay that had been collected, being set on fire by the fireworks, turpentine, and other combustibles that were thrown on it, the inside of the fort became as hot as an oven, and it was impossible to stand on the parapet, and consequently the fort was taken.' 'On the 18th Shawwal at midnight I reached the garden of *Hasht-bihisht* at Agra.'

BABUR'S LAST DAYS

Babur had very few days left to him now on this side of the grave. When everything was quite settled in Hindustan, he had written to Khwaja Kalan in Afghanistan, 'I shall set out for your quarters, God willing, without losing a moment. How can the delights of those lands ever be erased from the heart? How can one like me, who has vowed abstinence and purity of life, possibly forget the delicious melons and grapes of that happy land? The other day they brought me a musk-melon: as I cut it up I felt a deep home-sickness, and sense of exile from my land, and I could not help weeping.'

Accordingly, he even set out and went as far as Lahore, where he met his son Kamran. He was disappointed at Humayun's failure against the Uzbegs. He had recalled Hindal, his youngest son, from Kabul. The strain of his ceaseless campaigns, wanderings, and early drinking excesses, had told upon him rather heavily, despite his extraordinary energy and strength.

" He had been known to take up a man under each arm, and run with them round the battlements of a fortress, leap-

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 192.

ing the embrasures ; and even in March, 1529, he notes : 'I swam across the river Ganges for amusement. I counted my strokes, and found that I swam over in thirty-three strokes. I then took breath, and swam back to the other side. I had crossed by swimming every river I had met, except only the Ganges.' He was also perpetually in saddle, riding 80 miles a day sometimes, and the rapidity of his marches was often amazing."[1]

He had even survived the poison administered to him by Ibrahim Lodi's mother.[2] Now his strength was on the decline ; even his mental vigour seemed to have been affected. There was a plot to set aside Humayun, in favour of Mir Muhammad Mahdi Khwaja (Babur's sister's husband ?). Humayun received a timely warning, and hastened to Agra, which he reached on June 27, 1529, together with his mother.

Nomination of Humayun.

" If God should grant you the throne and crown ", Babur said to him, " do not put your brothers to death, but look sharply after them." In the summer of 1530 Humayun fell dangerously ill. In this state he was carried from Sambhal to Delhi. Hearing of this, Babur tenderly expressed to Maham, Humayun's mother, " Although I have other sons, I love none as I love your Humayun. I crave that this cherished child may have his heart's desire and live long, and I desire the kingdom for him because he has not his equal in distinction ! "

Every school-boy knows the story how Babur bore away his son's illness and sacrificed himself in order to save Humayun. As the latter recovered the former became worse ; and after two or three months Babur died, on Monday, December 26, 1530.

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 188.

2. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., pp. 144-5. Also see S. M. Edwardes, *Babur: Diarist and Despot*, pp. 63-7. Babur, when he recovered from the effects of this poison, observed : 'An evil arrived but happily passed. God gave me new birth . . . I know today the worth of life !'

Just before this he had called his *Amirs* together and told them: "For years it has been in my heart to surrender my throne to Humayun, and retire to the Gold-Scattering Garden. By the Divine Grace I have obtained in health all things but the fulfilment of this wish. Now, when I am laid low by illness, I charge you to acknowledge Humayun as my successor, and to remain loyal to him. Be of one heart and mind towards him, and I hope to God that Humayun will also bear himself well before men."

Then turning to Humayun he repeated his admonition to him regarding, in particular, the treatment of his brothers: "Humayun, I commit to God's keeping you and your brothers and all my kinsfolk and your people and my people; and all of those I confide to you ......The cream of my testamentary directions is this: Do nought against your brothers, even though they may deserve it."

By his own desire, Babur's body was carried to Kabul and buried there in 'the sweetest spot' on a hill-side, amidst beloved surroundings, a cool-running stream and sweet-smelling flowers.

"Death makes no conquest of this Conqueror,
For now he lives in Fame."

ESTIMATE OF BABUR

Babur's fundamental qualities, according to an old estimate, were 'a lofty judgment, noble ambition, the art of victory, the art of government, the art of conferring prosperity upon his people, the talent of ruling mildly the people of God, ability to win the hearts of his soldiers, and love of justice'.[1]

"Babur", writes Vincent A. Smith, "was the most brilliant Asiatic prince of his age, and worthy of a high place among the sovereigns of any age or country."[2]

1. Cited by Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 179.
2. Smith, *O. H.*, p. 321.

Havell says, "His engaging personality, artistic temperament, and romantic career make him one of the most attractive figures in the history of Islam."[1]

According to Elliot, "Good humoured, brave, munificent, sagacious, and frank in his character, he might have been a Henry IV if his training had been in Europe."[2]

'In his person', writes Ferishta, 'Babur was handsome, his address was engaging and unaffected, his countenance was pleasing, and his disposition affable.'[3]

Last but not the least, Babur's cousin Mirza Haidar describes him as being 'adorned with various virtues and clad with numberless excellences, above all which towered bravery and humanity . . . . Indeed, no one of his family before him ever possessed such talents, nor any of his race perform such amazing exploits or experience such strange adventures.'[4]

(1) Babur as a Man.

According to Lane-Poole, "His permanent place in history rests upon his Indian conquests, which opened the way for an imperial line ; but his place in biography and in literature is determined rather by his daring adventures and persevering efforts in his earlier days, and by the delightful *Memoirs* in which he related them. Soldier of fortune as he was, Babur was not the less a man of fine literary taste and fastidious critical perception . . . . *His battles as well as his orgies were humanised by a breath of poetry.*" [5]

As a man of parts, the estimate of Mirza Haidar is invaluable : 'In the composition of Turki poetry he (Babur) was second only to Amir Ali Shir. He has written a *divan* in the most lucid Turki. He invented a style of verse called *mubai-yan*, and was the author of a most useful treatise on jurisprudence which has been generally adopted. He also

1. Havell, *Aryan Rule in India*, p. 420.
2. E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 219.
3. Briggs, II, p. 65.
4. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi;* cited by Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 10 n.
5. Lane-Poole, loc. cit., pp. 10, 12.

wrote an essay on Turki prosody, more elegant than any other and versified the *Rasala-i-Validiya* of His Reverence (?). Then there is his *Wakai*, or Turki *Memoirs*, written in simple, unaffected, yet pure style. He excelled in music and other arts.'[1]

Babur was undoubtedly a man of outstanding genius, a lover of fine arts, a born naturalist, a keen and critical observer of men and things, and an accomplished writer who has immortalised himself, not merely as the founder of one of the most glorious dynasties that have ruled in India, but also as the prince of auto-biographers by bequeathing to posterity his delightful *Memoirs* which abound in descriptions of the countries he visited, their scenery, climate, productions, and works of art and industries, "more full and accurate than will, perhaps, be found in equal space, in any modern traveller; and considering the circumstances in which they were compiled, truly surprising."

"But," Elphinstone very truly observes, "the great charm of the work is in the character of the author, whom we find, after all the trials of a long life, retaining the same kind and affectionate heart, and the same easy and sociable temper with which he set out on his career, and in whom the possession of power and grandeur had neither blunted the delicacy of his taste, nor diminished his sensibility to the enjoyments of nature and imagination."[2]

"No part of his character," Erskine points out, "is more admirable than his uniform humanity and kindliness of disposition. If, in the course of his *Memoirs* some cruel executions appear, they belong to the age, not to the man. The

1. Babur, besides being a perfect writer of the various scripts in use during his time, had also invented a style of his own, which was called after him 'the *Baburi* script'. To Humayun his advice was to 'write unaffectedly, clearly, with plain words, which saves trouble to both writer and reader.' 'The language of kings,' he wrote, 'is the king of languages.' This at any rate aptly describes the quality of Babur's own writings.

2. Elphinstone, op. cit., pp. 438-439.

historians of his reign remark, that whenever any, either of his nobles or brothers, had revolted or entered into rebellion against him, no sooner did they acknowledge their offence and return to their duty than, to use the words of Khafi Khan, contrary to the customs of the princes of Persia, Arabia, or India, he not only forgave them, but never retained towards them any feeling of resentment."[1]

Babur was eminently a man of faith. "Nothing happens," he used to say, "but by the will of God. Reposing ourselves on His protection, we must go forward." He attributed every bit of his success to the grace of the Almighty. After his victory over Ibrahim, even before entering the capital, he reverently visited the tombs of the Muslim saints and heroes in the vicinity of Delhi. His glorious renunciation of wine before the battle of Kanua was an act of genuine repentance for his sins before God.

(2) Babur as a General.

The history of Babur that we have traced is nothing if it were not a record of brilliant generalship. Himself 'an admirable horseman, a fine shot, a good swordsman, and a mighty hunter,' Babur was well calculated to catch the imagination of his soldiers. Besides these qualities, he possessed in an eminent degree the supreme virtues of a born leader of men. He enjoyed and suffered with his men, and thoroughly understood every man in his army, both officer and private. What is perhaps more necessary in a commander of armies, he correctly gauged both the strength and the weakness of the commanders and armies that were opposed to him. Above all, to his native courage he added the unbending tenacity of his will and the unquenchable fire of his ambition. 'Filled as I was by the ambition of conquest and broad sway,' he writes, 'one or two reverses could not make me sit down doing nothing.'

'What though the field be lost,
All is not lost—the unconquerable will,
And courage never to submit or yield.'

1. Erskine, op. cit., pp. 524-5.

The following passage from his *Memoirs* is typical of his life :—

1507—'For about a week we went on trampling down the snow, yet were only able to make two or three miles a day. I helped in trampling the snow : with ten or fifteen of my household, and with Kasim Beg and his sons and a few servants, we all dismounted and laboured at beating down the snow. Each step we sank to the waist or the breast, but still we went on trampling it down. After a few paces a man became exhausted, and another took his place. Then the men who were treading it down dragged forward a horse without a rider; the horse sank to the stirrups and girths, and after advancing ten or fifteen paces was worn out and replaced by another; and thus ten to twenty of us trod down the snow and brought our horses on, whilst the rest—even in our best men, many of them *Begs*—rode along the road thus beaten down for them, hanging their heads: *It was no time for worrying them or using authority: if a man has pluck and hardihood, he will press forward to such work of his own accord.*

'That night the storm was terrible, and snow fell so heavily that we all expected to die together. When we reached the mountain cave the storm was at its worst. We dismounted at its mouth. Deep snow! a one-man road! and even on that stamped-down and trampled road, pit-falls for horses! The days at their shortest! The first arrivals reached the cave by day-light, later they dismounted wherever they happened to be; dawn found many still in the saddle. The cave secured was small. I took a shovel, and scraping and clearing the snow away made a place for myself as big as a prayer-carpet—near its mouth. I dug down breast high, but did not reach the ground. This made me a little shelter from the wind when I sat right down in it. They begged me to go inside, but I would not. *I felt that for me to be in warm shelter and comfort whilst my men were out in the snow and drift, for me to be sleeping at ease inside, whilst my men were in misery and distress, was not a man's act, and far from comrade-*

ship. What strong men can stand, I would stand : for, as the Persian proverb says, " In the company of friends, Death is a nuptial feast." So I remained in the snow and wind in the hole that I had dug out, with snow four-hands thick on my head and back and ears.'

But, where strictness was called for, Babur never hesitated : Ferishta observes, 'He even used violence to prevent outrage' ; 'it is certain ', he adds, ' his presence alone saved the honour of Daulat Khan's family,[1] (when Babur's men would have otherwise outraged it). Babur preserved by his exertions on this occasion, a fine library collected by Ghazi Khan (Daulat Khan's son), who was a poet and a man of learning.'[2] Babur himself records : ' Having learned that the troops had exercised some severities towards the inhabitants of Bahrah, and were using them ill, I sent out a party, who having seized a few of the soldiers that had been guilty of the excesses, I put some of them to death, and slit the noses of some others and had them led about the camp in that condition. As I reckoned the countries that had belonged to the Turks as my own territories, I admitted of no plundering or pillage.'[3]

(3) Babur as a Ruler.

The Empire of Babur extended from Badakhshan to Bengal, from the Oxus to the Ganges: in India alone, from Bhira (Bahrah) in the west to Bihar in the east ; from the Himalayas in the north to Chanderi in the South. But 'I had not time...... to send proper persons to occupy and protect the different *parganas* and stations'. Babur was too much preoccupied with wars and conquests to devote any serious attention to the administrative organisation of his vast dominions. Having conquered, his primary consideration seemed to be to maintain his kingdom in peace and order. This, no doubt, he was well qualified to do, with his military genius and efficient army. But to organise conquest and to organise administration are

1. We have already noted how he honourably provided for Ibrahim Lodi's mother after the Sultan's death at Panipat.

2. Briggs, II, p. 42.

3. E. & D., op. cit., p. 233.

two different things; the latter calls for genius of an altogether different type. Sher Shah and Akbar possessed this, but not Babur.

(i) To court danger and hardship, and show valour in arms;

(ii) To shun indolence and ease, as unbecoming of a King;

(iii) To consult *Begs* and ministers; to avoid private parties; to call the court to public levees twice every day;

(iv) To keep up the strength and discipline of the army —these were the principles he had inculcated upon Humayun; and they seem to have nearly exhausted Babur's kingly code. He was, no doubt, anxious to protect his subjects from the oppression of free-booters, as is indicated by the following casual observation in his *Memoirs*:—'Every time that I have entered Hindustan, the Jats and Gujars have regularly poured down in prodigious numbers from their hills and wilds, in order to carry off oxen and buffaloes. These were the wretches that really inflicted the chief hardships, and were guilty of the severest oppression in the country. These districts (in the Punjab) in former times, had been in a state of revolt and yielded very little revenue that could be come at. On the present occasion, when I had reduced the whole of the neighbouring districts to subjection, they began to repeat their practices ...... I sought out the persons guilty of these outrages, discovered them and ordered two or three of the number to be cut in pieces.'

Another instance of Babur's ruthlessness in putting down marauders is also recorded by Ahmad Yadgar: 'When he reached Sirhind, one of the *Kazis* of Samana complained to him that Mohan Mundahir had attacked his estate and burned it, plundered all his property, and slain his son. His Majesty, the Conqueror of the World, appointed Ali Kuli Hamadani, with three thousand horse, to avenge the injury which the Mundahir had done to the petitioner . . . . . Nearly a thousand of the Mundahirs were killed, and a thousand men, women, and children taken prisoners. The slaughter was great, and there was a heap of severed heads; and Mohan was taken

alive. An account of the conquest of the village was sent to the Shah. The village had been fully inhabited for no less than 160 years in the *pargana* of Kaithal; but was then made and still continues to be, a desert, and has never been inhabited again, although 160 years have elapsed since its destruction. When the prisoners were brought to Delhi, all the women were given to the Mughals. The offending Mundahir was buried in the earth up to his waist, and then pierced to death with arrows. Such was the respect for the army which this produced amongst the people of Hind that thenceforth no one ventured either to rebel or disobey.'[1]

Apart from this, he also did what was necessary, in order to ensure speedy communication between the principal parts of his dominions; *e.g.*, he took care to maintain intact the Grand Trunk Road between Agra and Kabul, establishing a regular series of post-houses, at a distance of about fifteen miles from each other, and stationed relays of six horses and proper officers at each.[2]

Ferishta says, 'Whenever he marched, he always caused roads to be measured after him, a custom which prevails among the Emperors of Hindustan to this day; and the statute he made concerning the measurement of distances has hitherto remained in force . . . . The *gaz Sikandari* or yard of Sikandar, which prevailed when he reached India was suspended by the *Baburi gaz*[3] which continued in use till the beginning of the reign of Jahangeer Padshah'.[4]

Being a man of high aesthetic tastes, Babur also delighted in creating beautiful *baghs* and buildings, aqueducts and bridges. 'In Agra alone', he writes, 'I every day employed on my palaces 680 persons; and in Agra, Sikri, Bayana,

1. Ibid., V, pp. 40-42.

2. 'Pathways were introduced into Hindustan for the first time, they not having been in use before.' Ibid., p. 38.

3. He fixed 100 *tunabs* for 1 *Kroh*
1 tunab = 40 *Gaz*
1 Gaz = 9 (*Moosht or fist*)
or 1 *Kos* = 4000 yards = over $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles. (Briggs, II, pp. 66-7).

4. Ibid.

Dholpur, Gwalior, and Koel, there were every day employed on my works 1491 stone-cutters'.

Ahmad Yadgar writes: 'In the second year of His Majesty's reign a beautiful garden was made on the borders of the river Jumna . . . . he passed his time in that garden, in company with Mughal companions and friends, in pleasure and enjoyment and carousing, in the presence of enchanting dancing-girls with rosy cheeks, who sang tunes, and displayed their accomplishments[1]...... Mirza Kamran also prepared a splendid garden similar to this in Lahore'.

He came to a country that was rich beyond the dreams of avarice. 'The chief excellency of Hindustan', he noted, 'is that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver'. This brought him a large revenue, utilising the old machinery of collection, and no new organisation of Babur's creation. So, 'the countries from Bahrah to Bihar, which are now under my dominion, yield a revenue of 52 *krors* (*tankahs*), as will appear from the particular and detailed statement. Of this amount, *parganas* to the value of 8 or 9 *krors* are in the possession of some *Rais* or *Rajas*, who from old times have been submissive, and have received these *parganas* for the purpose of confirming them in their obedience.'[2]

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 38.

2. Ibid., IV, p. 262; also Edward Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, pp. 387-91. "Everything considered", Erskine put it at "£ 4, 212, 000 as the amount of Babur's nominal revenue; a very large sum when the working of the American mines had not yet produced its full effect." Erskine, op. cit., p. 542.

Thomas's estimate is 2,60,00,000 silver *tankahs* or £ 2,600,000. Here it may also be pointed out that Babur was responsible for the introduction of anonymous coinage in India:

"The practice of striking coin in subordinate cities", Thomas writes, "also appears to have been an innovation introduced by the Mughals, who drew a wise distinction between the importance of the lower currency of copper and money fabricated from the more costly gold or silver. The absence of the Sultan's name likewise indicates a departure from Indian practice, under which we have uniformly seen the designation of the supreme authority impressed upon the copper money equally with the coins of higher value.

So much we are able to know from Babur's own direct testimony ; the rest is mostly inference.[1] However, the following abstract of the description of Babur's administration by Erskine,[2] ought to prove useful to the reader :—

'Over a great portion of his dominions outside India, especially in the more inaccessible hills and secluded valleys, his sway was hardly admitted by the rude tribes that traversed them ; and prudence was satisfied with some easy acknowledgment which was treated as tribute. In upper and lower Sindh the *khutba* was read in his name ; but though his supremacy was acknowledged, he had little direct power. To the east of the Indus, all the Punjab, including Multan, and to the south and east of the Sutlej, the rich provinces of Hindustan lying between the river and Bihar on the one side, and the Himalaya mountains and the countries of the Rajputs and of Malwa on the other, were subject to him ; the western boundary being nearly a line marked by the fortresses of

"Babur's introduction of so much of the leading ideals of his Bokhara money into Hindustan was destined to be attended with more permanence in the coins of the poor, whose standard he adopted, than in that of his more elaborately executed *dirhams* and *ashrafis*, in which he outraged local associations.

"The average weight of the pieces of this class is very uniform at something over 140 grains, a total we have frequently met with in the earlier coins of the Pathan issues, 80 of which went to the old *tankah*, 4 to the modified *Sikandari*, and 32 to the foreign *Babari and Shah Rukhi*." (ib. p. 314).

1. We also get occasional glimpses of Babur's administration in statements like the following in Ahmad Yadgar's *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i Afghana* :—

'That district was entirely subdued, from one end to the other and collectors were appointed in various places. Orders were issued for reading *khutba* and coining money, and a *jagir* was bestowed upon the fortunate *Shahzada*.........

'The Mughals, who had for many years desired the possession of Hindustan, at last governed it . . . . Amir Khalifa, being a person of influence, and possessing the chief authority managed the government and his decrees were like those of the Sultan himself.' (E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 37-8).

2. Erskine, op. cit., pp. 526-31.

Bayana, Rantambhor, Gwalior, and Chanderi. On the south towards Bengal, the limits of his authority are not well defined. Though he possessed the greater part of Bihar, some portion of it, especially the hilly or wooded parts of the country, were still held by the remains of the Afghans or by native chiefs. On the frontier of his Empire, the Rajput principalities, the shattered kingdom of Malwa, Bundelkhand, and Bengal were still independent states.

'There was little uniformity in the political situation of the different parts of this vast Empire. Each kingdom, each province, each district, and (we may almost say) every village, was governed in ordinary matters, by its peculiar customs. The higher officers of government exercised not only civil but criminal jurisdiction, even in capital cases, with little form and under little restraint.

'We have very imperfect means of knowing what were the taxes then levied. The chief revenue was the land-tax directly raised on the land in fully settled and quiet provinces; but where the country remained under its native chiefs, or was not fully subdued, was drawn by the Emperor in the shape of an annual tribute.

'Though frequently the officers of the army or government were rewarded by *jagirs* or estates, over which they had very often jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, their legal power over the land itself did not extend to a property in the soil, but to the exercise of such rights as belonged to the government. The *jagirdar* or holder of the *jagir*, was properly in Musalman times, merely an officer of government, and removable at pleasure, except where the grant had been made hereditary.

'Besides the land-tax, there was a duty levied on the frontier, on goods imported by caravans or otherwise. The *temgha*, or stamp, was the mark by which, on cattle and in goods, the payment of the duties was ascertained. There were transit duties on merchandise transported from one part of the country to another. There was a shop-tax, chiefly in towns; and, in parts of the country where the Muhammadans

had a confirmed and safe ascendency, the *jiziya* or poll-tax was levied on all who were not Musalmans.'

Babur was, with all his virtues, a Musalman Emperor. When he had killed the Pagans (as he called the Hindus) he piled up a pyramid of their skulls, at least for the delectation of his orthodox followers. He considered the war against the Rajputs as *jihad* or 'holy war' and assumed the title of *Ghazi*, after his victory at Kanua. He spoke of the self-immolation of the Rajputs at Chanderi as '*going to hell*.' When he remitted the *temgha* after his penitence and vow to renounce wine, it was only Musalmans who were exempted from it, and not the Hindus. After the fall of Chanderi, as Ferishta tells us, he 'did not fail to rebuild and repair the mosques in Chanderi, Sarangpur, Rantambhor and Raisen, which had been partly destroyed and otherwise injured by being converted into cattle-sheds, by Medini Rai's orders.' Babur himself stated on his conquest of Chanderi, that he converted 'the mansion of hostility' into 'a mansion of faith.' All these facts make it difficult to accept the too liberal policy outlined in the Bhopal MS.[1], ascribed to Babur.

1. It reads:

'O my son! People of diverse religions inhabit India, and it is a matter of thanks-giving to God that the King of kings has entrusted the government of this country to you.

It therefore behoves you that:—

1. You should not allow religious prejudices to influence your mind, and administer impartial justice, having due regard to religious susceptibilities and religious customs of all sections of the people.

2. In particular refrain from the slaughter of cows which will help you to obtain a hold on the hearts of the people of India; thus you will bind the people of the land to yourself by ties of gratitude.

3. You should never destroy places of worship of any community and always be justice-loving so that relations between the King and his subjects may remain cordial and thereby secure peace and contentment in the land.

4. The propagation of Islam will be better carried on with the sword of love and obligation than with the sword of oppression.

5. Always ignore the mutual dissensions of Shias and Sunnis otherwise they will lead to the weakness of Islam.

But to say this, is not to allege the contrary. Babur was beyond question a man of deep faith in God; but his belief in Islam must have sat comparatively light on his mind. He had abjured his orthodoxy and become a Shia to win the support of the Shah of Persia to his cause. At the same time, he had refused to persecute his quandom orthodox co-religionists at the command of his newly accepted suzerain. There is no evidence of his ever having destroyed a Hindu temple or otherwise persecuted the Hindus on account of their religion. On the other hand, there is at least one reference to his equal recognition of the Hindu and Turki *Amirs* who had enlisted in his service.

'On Thursday, the 19th Shaban, I called the *Amirs*', he writes, 'both *Turki and Hindu*, to a council, and took their opinion about passing the river'. This was during his last campaign, in Bengal (1529).

At least six Hindu Rajas, and among them Raja Bikramajit of Rantambhor (second son of Rana Sanga), accepted Babur's sway and paid their tribute.[1]

To conclude: "Unfortunately Babur, being no administrative genius, but a plain warrior with statesmanlike instincts, found it necessary to carry on the administrative plan which he found already in existence, namely, that of parcelling the dominions among his officers, with the understanding that each was responsible for the good order of the districts under his control. The consequences of this plan had always been the same: the monarchy, having erected an artificial barrier between itself and the local administration, lost little by little all its authority, until last of all its prestige departed, and the throne became the prey for contending factions. The great

6. Treat the different peculiarities of your subjects as the different seasons of the year so that the body politic may remain free from disease.'

This is a translation by Dr. Syed Mahmud, of a document in the Bhopal State Library supposed to be Babur's confidential will and testament to his son Humayun. (*The Indian Review*, Aug. 1923.)

1. E. & D., op. cii., IV, pp. 262, 281. Cf. S. M. Edwardes, *Babur: Diarist and Depot*, pp. 40-41.

Amirs on the other hand, gained what the crown lost. During the reign of Babur this does not become apparent, partly because he was invested with the prestige of a conqueror: partly because the time was too short for the consequences of his policy to make themselves felt. Even before he died, however, the symptoms of radical unsoundness in the administration are not far to seek. The old haphazard financial system entirely failed to provide means for the up-keep of the professional soldiers, like the gunners and matchlockmen, who were paid directly from the royal revenue. Having distributed with lavish generosity the royal hoards in Delhi and Agra, Babur suddenly found himself with an empty treasury. For the moment the deficit was met by a levy of 30 per cent. on the revenues of all great officers. But in the time of Humayun there is a repetition of the old story of financial breakdown, accompanied by revolution, intrigue, and the dethronement of a dynasty."[1]

1. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., pp. 161-62.

AUTHORITIES

A. Primary: (i) *Humayun-Nama* of Humayun's sister, Gulbadan Begam, has already been noticed. She wrote this between 1580 and 1590 A. D. at Akbar's instance. Prof. Qanungo writes, "I have found this book very useful, especially as regards dates and events of Humayun's life. She is generally trustworthy with the exception of a few cases. The foot-notes given by Mrs. Beveridge here as well as in the translation of Babur's *Memoirs* should not be as readily accepted as her translation of the text."

(ii) *Humayun-Nama* of Khwandamir, also called *Kanun-i-Humayuni*. The author was intimately acquainted with Humayun, and died in Gujarat in 1534–5 during Humayun's campaign there. It gives some "curious accounts of the regulations established by Humayun in the early part of his reign". The writer received from the Emperor the title of *Amir-i-Akhbār* or 'the noble historian.'

(iii) *Tazkirat-ul-Wakiat* of Jauhar, Humayun's personal attendant, who wrote his reminiscences 30 years later, in Akbar's reign. Prof. Qanungo considers this work "a highly authoritative history of the reign of Humayun, and having greater weight than that of Gulbadan even"—at least up to Humayun's departure from Tatta to Kandahar. The work deals with the rest of his career as well. Jauhar's own preface is worth quotation:

> 'I was at all times, and in all stations, in constant attendance on the royal person; it therefore occurred to me as desirable that I should write a narrative of all the events to which I had been an eye-witness, that it may remain as a record of the past interesting occurrences. I have endeavoured to explain them to the best of my humble ability, although in a style very inferior to the dignity of the subject. I commenced this work in the year 995 (A. D. 1587) and have named it the *Tazkirat-ul-Wakiat*, or Relation of Occurrences.'

"The Memoirs bear all the appearance of truth and honesty, and are to a great degree exempt from that exaggeration and fulsome eulogy to which Oriental biographers are prone." (Dowson)

(iv) *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* of Mirza Haidar, already noticed, is also valuable for its intimate studies of Humayun. Mirza Haidar wrote his work relating to Humayun in 1541-42 A. D. He was personally present at the battle of the Ganges (Bilgram or Kanauj), when Humayun fought against Sher Shah. After this disastrous rout at Kanauj, he endeavoured to induce Humayun to secure a refuge and vantage ground in Kashmir.

(v) *Tabakat-i-Akbari* of Nizamu-d din Ahmad is a very voluminous work. The chapter on Humayun is the most valuable for us here. "His style has a simple elegance, natural flow and charm of its own unrivalled for many generations." Nizamu-d din was a *bakshi* under Akbar, and his father had served under Humayun. The incentive for writing it was that he had 'from his youth, according to the advice of his father, devoted himself to the study of works of history, which are the means of strengthening the understanding of men of education, and of affording instruction by examples to men of observation.'

Dowson observes: "This is one of the most celebrated histories of India, and is the first that was composed upon a new model, in which India alone forms the subject-matter of the work, to the exclusion of other Asiatic countries. The work seems to have been recognised by all contemporary historians as a standard history; subsequent writers also have held it in the highest estimation, and have borrowed from it freely......Ferishta states that of all the histories he consulted, it is the only one he found complete."

B. SECONDARY: Erskine, '*History of India under the two First Sovereigns of the House of Taimur, Baber and Humayun*,' Vol. II.

NOTE—For other works bearing on the life of Humayun, see Authorities on Sher Shah.

GENEALOGY

(1) *Maham* x BABUR x *Gulruk* (2) x *Dilbar* (3)

(1) *Maham* x BABUR	x *Gulruk* (2)	x *Dilbar* (3)
HUMAYUN	Kamran, Askari	Hindal, *Gulbadan*, etc.

CHAPTER III

THE EMPIRE IN TRANSITION

'The world is his who exerts himself.'

'Fail not to quit yourself strenuously to meet every emergency: indolence and ease agree ill with kingship.'

BABUR TO HUMAYUN.

The Empire whose foundation was so laboriously laid by Babur was nevertheless precarious and unstable in character. The strength and security of an arch depends upon its key-stone; in the present case it was too weak to hold on steadily for long. The story of Humayun's loss and re-acquisition of his heritage is not less fascinating than the adventures of his father. It is also instructive as showing the vital dependence of the Empire on the personal character of the monarch.

Humayun's life divides itself into four clear periods: (I) Early Life, up to his Accession (1508-30); (II) Struggles to maintain his Inheritance (1530-40); (III) Fifteen Years of Exile (1540-1555); and (IV) Restoration and Death (1555-56).

I. EARLY LIFE (1508-30)

(1) Birth and Accession.

Humayun was born on Zaikada 4, 913 Hijra (March 6, 1508) in the citadel of Kabul.

He mounted the throne, at Agra, on First Jamadi 9, 937 Hijra (December 29, 1530) at the age of twenty-three,—three days after the death of Babur.

Khwandamir writes: 'The hand of the kindness of the Creator of Souls and Substances put the happy robe of royalty on the person of this able monarch, the Conqueror of the world. On Friday, the 9th of the said month, in the *Jama*

Masjid at Agra the *khutba* was read in the name and title of this noble King, and the noise of congratulations which arose from the crowd of the people reached beyond the heavens.'[1]

The *Tabakat-i-Akbari* records: 'On the death of the Emperor Babur, Prince Humayun, who arrived from Sambhal, ascended the throne at Agra, *with the support of Amir Nizamu-d din Ali Khalifa, on the* 9th Jumada-l-awwal, 937 H. The officers expressed their devotion, and the chiefs and officers were treated with great kindness. The *mansabs* and offices which were held under the last sovereign were confirmed, and the royal favour made every one happy and contented.'[2]

(2) Apprenticeship.

(*a*) On the death of his cousin, Khan Mirza, in 1520, Humayun, at the age of twelve, was appointed to the government of Badakhsan. Babur himself visited the province, together with Humayun's mother, to install the young Prince in his first charge.

(*b*) When Babur invaded India, in 1525, Humayun joined him with a contingent from Badakhshan.

(*c*) In this campaign, too, Humayun won his maiden victory over a force from Hissar-Firoza, which was on its way to join Ibrahim Lodi (1526).[3]

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 118.

2. Ali Khalifa had favoured Mahdi Khwaja's succession; for the circumstances under which he apparently changed his mind see E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 187-88. Note also on the same page the discrepancies in the computation of dates in terms of the Christian era. The complacency of the nobles referred to here must have been only skin deep in the case of several of them.

3. In a foot-note to Babur's *Memoirs* Humayun notes that on March 6, 1526 he was at Shahabad, on the left bank of the Sarsuti, on his way to Panipat, and this same day the razor or scissors were first applied to his beard. 'As my honoured father mentioned in these commentaries the time of his first using the razor, in humble emulation of him I have commemorated the same circumstance regarding myself. I was then eighteen years of age. Now that I am forty-six, I, Muhammad Humayan, am transcribing a copy of these *Memoirs* from the copy in his late Majesty's own handwriting.'—

(Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 40 n.)

(*d*) After Panipat, Humayun, who had played his part well, received a great diamond and gifts worth 70,000,00 *dāms* (about £ 20,000).

(*e*) Humayun also, after this, led the army against the Afghan insurgents in the east, and captured Sambhal, Jaunpur, Ghazipur, and Kalpi.

(*f*) At the battle of Kanua (1527), Humayun led the right wing of the Mughal army and was well rewarded.[1]

(*g*) In 1528, when he was back in Badakhshan, Babur wrote to him (Nov. 13) to advance with the support of his brothers to 'Hisar, Samarkand, or Merv, as may be most available ...... This is the time for you to court danger and hardship, and show your valour in arms. Fail not to quit yourself strenuously to meet every emergency; indolence and ease agree ill with kingship.' He also tendered him much good advice in the same letter, urging Humayun, among other things, 'to act handsomely by his brother Kamran; not to complain of loneliness in Badakhshan, as it was unworthy of a prince; to consult his *Begs* and ministers, particularly Khwaja Kalan; to avoid private parties; but to call the court to public levees twice daily; and above all to keep up the strength and discipline of the army.'[2]

(3) Return to India.

In spite of all this care and anxiety on the part of Babur, Humayun precipitately returned to India in 1529. Babur thus enthusiastically describes the advent of his son: 'I was just talking with his mother about him when in he came. His presence opened our hearts like rosebuds, and made our eyes shine like torches. It was my rule to keep open table every day, but on this occasion, I gave feasts in his honour, and showed him every kind of distinction. We lived together for some time in the greatest intimacy. The truth is that his conversation had an inexpressible charm, and he realised absolutely the ideal of perfect manhood.'[3] But why did Humayun desert his charge?

1. With Alwar (Mewat), Hasan Khan Mewati's possession.
2. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 197.
3. Ibid., p. 198.

(4) Abortive Conspiracy.

The reasons were three: (i) His own failure against the Uzbegs who were making fresh incursions; (ii) Babur's failing health, and his call to Hindal from Kabul to be by his side ; and (iii) *the conspiracy at Agra to supersede Humayun.*

This last was in favour of Mir Muhammad Mahdi Khwaja who was Babur's brother-in-law (sister's husband), and who had been in charge of the left wing of the Mughal army at the battle of Kanua, where Humayun led the right wing. The origin and details of this intrigue are of little value for us, since it proved abortive. But, as Rushbrooke Williams observes, "that the scheme should have been considered feasible at all is eloquent testimony of Babur's feebleness in body and mind."[1] He also contradicts Mirza Haidar's statement that Babur had recalled Humayun, for which he gives the following reasons :— (i) The appearance of Humayun at Agra surprised everyone at Agra; (ii) Babur was expecting Hindal, and would never have recalled both sons at the same time; (iii) no successor had been settled upon to occupy the governorship of Badakhshan; (iv) Humayun was asked by his father to return to his charge.[2]

Humayun had met Kamran and Hindal at Kabul; and they had agreed that, in view of the grave conspiracy which was afoot at Agra, Humayun should hasten to the capital and Hindal should take his place in Badakhshan. Ultimately, Babur sent Suleiman Mirza to that distant province.

The rest of the story has already been told. The conspiracy being nipped in the bud, Humayun spent some time on his estate in Sambhal. Then followed his illness and Babur's affectionate sacrifice on Monday 26, 1530. Before this happened Babur had commended Humayun to his nobles in unmistakable terms: "Now when I am laid low by illness, I charge you to acknowledge Humayun as my successor, and to remain loyal to him. Be of one heart and mind towards him, and I

1. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 171.
2. Ibid, p. 172 n. 2.

hope to God that Humayun will also bear himself well towards men."

But, no sooner was Babur's breath stilled in death, or, to use Khwandamir's phrase, 'left the throne of this world for the eternal heaven,' than Humayun's troubles began.

II. STRUGGLES TO MAINTAIN HIS INHERITANCE (1530-40)

Political Situation.

Babur had bequeathed to Humayun " a congeries of territories, uncemented by any bond of union or of common interest, except that which had been embodied in his life. In a word, when he died, the Mughal dynasty like the Muhammadan dynasties which had preceded it, had sent down no roots into the soil of Hindustan."[1] Babur had not annexed Bengal to the east, nor the great provinces of Malwa and Gujarat, now united under one king (Bahadur Shah), to the south. The many chiefs of Rajputana were cowed but not subdued, and in most of the outlying parts of the kingdom the Mughal power was but slightly recognised.

(*a*) AFGHANS

Numerous Afghan officers still held powerful fiefs, and these men had not forgotten that the kings of Delhi had been Afghans but a few years before. When a member of the deposed dynasty (Sultan Mahmud Lodi) appeared amongst them in Bihar, there were all the materials for a formidable insurrection. Thus, even in his inherited dominions—about an eighth part of all India—Humayun was not secure from rivals and revolts.[2]

The principal rallying centres for these Afghans who were all 'ripe for revolt,' were

(i) *Mahmud Lodi* : the brother of Ibrahim, whom Babur had driven away but not crushed. He was supported by the old heads of the Afghan nobility, Baban and Bayazid, who

1. Mallison, *Akbar*, p. 49.
2. Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, pp. 219-20.

though lately driven into the recesses of the eastern provinces and of Bihar, were only waiting for a fit opportunity to return and re-occupy the kingdom from which they had been expelled. The King of Bengal, who had married a sister of Mahmud Lodi, also supported him.

(ii) *Sher Khan Sur*, who was 'the most capable, unscrupulous, and ambitious man in the whole Afghan party,' had joined the rebels even during the last days of Babur, although the latter had 'bestowed on him many marks of favour, and given him several *parganas* and put him in command in the east.' He looked upon the Mughals with great contempt as indicated by his following statement :—

'If fortune favours me, I can drive these Mughals back out of Hindustan ; they are not our superiors in war, but we let slip the power that we had by reason of our dissensions. Since I have been among the Mughals, I have observed their conduct and found them lacking in order and discipline ; while those who profess to lead them, in the pride of birth and rank, neglect the duty of supervision, and leave everything to officials whom they blindly trust. These subordinates act corruptly in every case ..... they are led by lust of gain, and make no distinction between soldier and civilian, foe or friend.'[1]

Fair or otherwise, this estimate only serves to reveal the ambition and attitude of Sher Khan, who was soon to drive Humayun into exile and occupy his throne.

(iii) *Alam Khan* or Alau-d din Lodi, the uncle of Ibrahim, was one of those that invited Babur to India, and fought against his nephew at Panipat. He had later fallen into disgrace and was confined in a fort in Badakhshan. Since the death of Babur, Alau-d din had effected his escape, and sought refuge with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat.

" Without any open declaration of war with Humayun, Bahadur Shah liberally supplied Alau-d din with money, and enabled him, in a very short time, to assemble a large force, and to send it against Agra, under his son Tatar Khan. This

1. Keene, op. cit., p. 95.

army, so hastily collected, was as speedily dispersed ; and Tatar Khan fell in battle, at the head of a division which remained faithful in the desertion."[1]

The career of Bahadur Shah, up to the death of Babur, has already been described in detail in the first chapter. He gave shelter not merely to Alau-d din Lodi, but also to another of Humayun's rivals, presently to be noticed. Briefly, besides the prestige and power he had acquired over his southern neighbours, Bahadur Shah, who was ruler of Gujarat and Malwa, "was actively pressing his triumphs over the Rajputs and rapidly approaching within striking distance of Agra".[2]

(b) COUSINS AND BROTHERS

Besides the Afghans, Humayun had rivals and enemies nearer home.

(i) *Muhammad Zaman Mirza* was the grandson of Sultan Husain of Herat, and had married his cousin Ma'Suma, a step-sister of Humayun. He had shown himself a capable general in Babur's campaigns.

(ii) *Muhammad Sultan Mirza* was also a descendant of Timur and grandson of the late Sultan of Khorasan by a daughter. From his royal birth and station, he too was considered worthy to aspire to the throne.

(iii) *Mir Muhammad Mahdi Khwaja*, a brother-in-law[3] of Babur, the abortive conspiracy in whose favour has

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 442.

2. "He earnestly wished for some political trouble to entangle the Emperor in the eastern provinces, so that his attention and energy might be diverted to that quarter, and Bahadur might thus be given a free hand to deal with the Rajputs. He scanned the eastern horizon of Hindustan and saw the clouds gathering in South Bihar, which boded ill to the Mughal Empire. He thought of subsidising Sher Khan and making use of his rising power to keep the Emperor busy in that quarter." (Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, p. 109)

3. "He was the husband of Babur's full sister, Khanzada Begam." (Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 170.) Both Ahmad Yadgar and Nizamu-d din Ahmad however, (in the passage quoted at p. 70 n. 1) speak of him as Babur's *son-in-law*. (E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 36).

already been noticed. Babur's prime-minister and life-long friend Khalifa[1] was interested in him. He was in command of a division of the army, and belonged to the nobility of religion. At Kanua, as we have seen, he was put in charge of the left wing, as Humayun led the right wing. So with the army he had enjoyed equality of status with the present Emperor.

(iv) *Kamran Mirza* was the most dangerous of all Humayun's brothers. He was in charge of Kabul and Kandahar at the time of Babur's death. Babur, as we have noticed, had commanded Humayun 'to act handsomely by his brother Kamran.' Askari and Hindal were the other two brothers of Humayun. Elphinstone remarks, "From his having assigned no shares to his younger children, it is probable that Babur did not intend to divide the Empire; but Kamran showed no disposition to give way to his brother; and as he was in possession of a strong and warlike country among the hereditary subjects of his family, he had a great advantage over Humayun, who could not assemble an army without evacuating his new and disaffected provinces."[2] "Ever weak and shifty," says Lane-Poole, "Askari and Hindal were dangerous only as tools for ambitious men to play upon."[3]

(c) MILITARY WEAKNESS OF HUMAYUN

Surrounded as Humayun was with astute and powerful enemies on every side, what was most necessary in him was

1. His full name was 'Amir Nizamu-d din Ali Khalifa.' The *Tabakat-i-Akbari* states:— Amir Nizamu-d din Ali Khalifa was chief administrator of the State, and in consequence of some things which had occurred in the course of worldly business, he had a dread and suspicion of the young prince Humayun, and was unfriendly to his succession. And if he was not friendly with the eldest son, neither was he favourable to the promotion of the younger. *Mahdi Khwaja was son-in-law* (?) of the late Emperor, and was a generous and liberal young man. He was very friendly with Mir Khalifa, who had promised to raise him to the throne. This fact became generally known, and several of the nobles took part with Mahdi Khwaja. He also fell in with the idea, and began to assume kingly airs. Ibid.

2. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 441.

3. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 222.

'a firm grasp of the military situation and resolution to meet it'. Both these qualities, Humayun lamentably lacked. "It was a situation that called for boundless energy and soldierly genius."[1] On the north-west was Kamran, 'a surly ill-conditioned traitor, unworthy of Babur's seed,' and the most formidable of Humayun's brothers. On the east were the Afghans under Mahmud Lodi and Sher Khan. On the south was Bahadur Shah, supporting the pretenders.

'The army was not a national one, connected by common language and country, but a mixed body of adventurers, Chaghatai, Uzbek, Mughal, Persian, Afghan, and Indian. Even the Chaghatai chiefs, who had enjoyed most of the Emperor's confidence and favour, were not perfectly unanimous. Though attached to the family of Babur, as the representatives of that revered prince and of the great Taimur, yet no eminent chief or head of a tribe considered the crown itself as beyond the range of his ambition. It was the age of revolution; and the kingdoms on every side,—Persia, Samarkand, Bokhara, Hisar, Balkh and Hindustan itself,—saw the throne occupied by adventurers, or the immediate descendants of adventurers, not more distinguished than themselves .... Under such circumstances, a thousand unforeseen accidents might occur to blow the smouldering embers of intrigue and faction into a flame.'[2]

At such a crisis, the personal character of the prince was a matter of deep importance. But Humayun, though he possessed all the humaner virtues of his great father, lamentably lacked "the decision and spirit of command, without which no prince can secure the respect and confidence of his subjects." He was too gentle and good to be successful in such an age and under such circumstances; his failure was in no small measure due to his "beautiful but unwise clemency. Instead of taking a statesmanlike view of the situation, meeting the most pressing danger first, and crushing

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 219.
2. Erskine, op. cit., pp. 2-4.

one antagonist before he engaged another, he frittered away his army in divided commands, and deprived it of its full strength; he left one enemy unsubdued behind him while he turned to meet another; and when victory by chance rewarded his courage, rather than his tactics, he reposed upon his laurels and made merry with his friends while his foes used the precious time in gathering their forces for a fresh effort . . . . . Humayun's troops were still the men who had won Delhi and defeated Rana Sanga, and Babur's generals were still in command of their divisions. But Humayun weakened their valour and destroyed their confidence by division and vacillation, neglected the counsels of the commanders, and displayed such indecision that it is a marvel that any army still adhered to his falling fortunes."[1]

Division of the Empire.

On the day of Humayun's accession, Nizamu-d din Ahmad writes, 'Mirza Hindal arrived from Badakhshan and was received with great kindness. He was gratified with the grant of two of the treasures (*do Khazana*) of former kings. The territories were then divided: (i) Mirza Hindal received the district of Mewat (Alwar) in *jagir*; (ii) the Punjab, Kabul and Kandahar were settled as the *jagir* of Mirza Kamran;[2] (iii) Sambhal was given to Mirza Askari; (iv) every one of the *Amirs*

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 222.

2. At first he had been confirmed in his possession of Kabul and Kandahar alone. But Kamran not being satisfied, left Kandahar in the possession of Askari, and marched for Hindustan. Humayun then added Peshawar and Lamghan to his grant. "But Kamran's views were too extensive to be satisfied even with that concession." He soon marched up to and occupied Lahore as well. Humayun, surrounded as he was with great difficulties, confirmed him in his new acquisition. A *farman* was accordingly issued, bestowing on Kamran the government of Kabul, Kandahar, and the Punjab; "a grant which exalted that prince to the possession of dominions and power nearly equal to his own." Kamran, who had a turn for poetry, flattered Humayun with a few odes and wheedled out of him the rich province of Hissar-Firoza as well. This was an important grant, and most welcome to Kamran, as it lay nearly on the high-road between his possessions in the Punjab and Delhi.

also received an increase of his *jagir*.' (v) According to the *Akbar-Nama*, Mirza Suleiman was confirmed in Badakhshan.

Note—The great blunder in this distribution was in leaving the perfidious Kamran in charge of the most vital part of Babur's dominions. By this cession Humayun was left to govern a new conquest, while he was deprived of the resources by which it had been gained, and by which it might have been also retained. "It was a mistake on Humayun's part," writes Ishwari Prasad, "to make these concessions, because they created a barrier between him and the lands beyond the Afghan hills. Kamran could henceforward, as Prof. Rushbrooke Williams observes, cut the tap-root of his military power by merely stopping where he was. Besides, the cession of Hissar-Firoza was a blunder, for it gave Kamran command of the new military road which ran from Delhi to Kandahar."[1]

III. EARLY EXCURSIONS

(i) 'After arranging the affairs of the State, His Majesty proceeded to Kalinjar, the Raja of which place expressed his fealty, and ranged himself among the supporters of the throne.[2]

(ii) 'In those days, Sultan Mahmud (son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi), with the assistance of Baban, Bayazid, and the Afghan nobles, had raised the standard of opposition, and had taken possession of Jaunpur and its dependencies. Humayun now marched to subdue him, and having achieved success,[3] he returned victorious to Agra. There he held a

1. Ishwari Prasad, op. cit., p. 326; Elphinstone, op. cit.. p. 441.

2. According to Badauni, the fort was captured after a seige lasting for a month.—(E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 189, n 3). The date assigned is May-June, 1531.—(Erskine, op. cit., II, p. 9).

3. Sultan Mahmud Lodi and his Afghan supporters were defeated at Dauroh on the river Gumti, about 48 miles north of Jaunpur. Abbas Khan mentions the place as Lucknow; Dauroh is mentioned by Jauhar. The following two extracts from these writers give the details:–

'His Majesty (Humayun),' writes Jauhar, 'after successive marches, reached Dauroh on the river Mati, when the above-mentioned

great festival, and all the nobles and chiefs were honoured with robes and Arab horses. It is said that 12,000 persons received robes at that feast, and 2,000 of them were presented with outer-garments of gold brocade and gilt buttons.'

Note—Though such pomp was not unknown to Babur,[1] Humayun's already depleted treasury could ill-afford such extravagance at this moment of crisis, when he had to fight enemies on all sides. "In the time of Humayun,"

rebels, with a large army, came towards that place; the rebels were defeated...... Baban, Bayazid, and all the chiefs and refractory ones were slain.' (cited by Qanungo, op. cit, p. 72.)

'The two armies,' says Abbas Khan, 'met near Lucknow.... As Mian Bayazid had drunk more wine than he could bear, and had got drunk and careless, he also was slain in that battle. Sultan Mahmud and other chiefs, being defeated, fled to the kingdom of Bihar. The Sultan had neither money nor territory to entertain a force of his own, and his nobles who had placed him on the throne were most of them killed in the battle at Lucknow, while the few who remained, were from their quarrels dispersed. Sultan Mahmud was greatly given to dancing-women, and passed most of his time in amusing himself and as he had no power to oppose the Mughals, he abdicated his royalty, and settled himself in the province of Patna, and never again attempted the throne.'—E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 350.

1. e. g. 'In the third year, His Majesty (Babur) proceeded towards Lahore. At Sirhind he was met by the Raja of Kahlur, who presented him seven falcons, and three *mans* of gold, and was confirmed in the *zamindari* of that place. When the King's camp reached Lahore, Mirza Kamran was honoured to the presence, and he brought the *zamindars* of the country to kiss the feet of the couqueror of the world. The King's encampment was located in the environs of Lahore, and the royal tents were pitched in the garden of Mirza Kamran, who gave a magnificent banquet, which lasted three days. At its conclusion, the King left the garden and took his abode in the fort. The whole road thither, from the garden to the gate of the city, was lined by the servants of Shahazada Kamran, dressed in silks and brocade, decked like bride-grooms; and the troops, with their gay red and yellow flags, resembling the early spring. Elephants adorned with gilded trappings, covered with jewels, were led in front of the royal cortege. When they entered the city gates, money was thrown to the poor and destitute, and a grand entertainment was given in the palace of Sikandar Lodi. The King was pleased with the sights and hunting which the Punjab afforded, and he therefore remained there for the space of a year, during which Mirza

says Rushbrooke Williams, "there is a repetition of the old story of financial breakdown, accompanied by revolution, intrigue, and the dethronement of a dynasty."[1] Humayun's lavishness on this occasion was typical of his general extravagance.

(iii) 'At this time Muhammad Zaman Mirza,...who had originally come from Balkh to seek a refuge with His late Majesty, now set himself up in opposition, but he was taken prisoner, and was sent as a warning for rebels to the fort of Bayana, and placed in the custody of Yadgar Taghai. An order was given to deprive him of sight, but the servants of Yadgar Beg saved the pupils of his eyes from the effects of the operation. After a short time he made his escape, and fled to Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat.

(iv) 'About the same time Muhammad Sultan Mirza, with his two sons Ulugh Mirza and Shah Mirza, went off to Kanauj, and there raised a rebellion.'

The Gujarat Campaign.

(i) 'His Majesty sent a person with letters to Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat demanding the surrender of Muhammad Zaman Mirza, to which he returned a haughty refusal, and then showed signs of rebellion and resistance. This excited the anger of the Emperor, and he resolved to march against Gujarat and chastise Sultan Bahadur. He procdeeded to Gwalior and there passed two months in making excursions and hunting' (1532).

(ii) When Humayun finally marched against Bahadur Shah, that prince was busy with the siege of Chitor[2] (1534).

Hindal came from Kabul. He was admitted to the presence and treated with marked distinction. When the cold season was over, Mirza Hindal returned to Kabul, and at the time of his departure he received, as a present from His Majesty, two elephants, four horses, girdles, and jewelled daggers.'—Ahmad Yadgar, E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 40.

1. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 162.

2. The Rana in his distress dispatched an envoy to ask succour from Humayun. Humayun, thus invited, moved forward with a considerable army as far as Gwalior, as if to assist the Rana. There he encamped for about two months and asked Bahadur Shah to desist from his attack on Chitor and give up the traitors he was harbouring. Neither demand

At the approach of the Emperor he held a council of war. Many officers advised the raising of the siege, but Sadr Khan, who was the chief of the nobles, observed that they were warring against infidels, and that if a sovereign of Musalmans were to attack them while so engaged, he would in effect assist the infidels, and this would remain a reproach against him among Musalmans until the Day of Judgment. He therefore advised the continuance of the siege, and would not believe that the Emperor would attack them.

'When the Emperor had passed through Malwa and had come to Sarangpur, he was informed of this; so he rested there.'

Note—This was Humayun's third great blunder. It was a double failing: timely assistance might have won over the Rana as a perpetual ally who might have acted as a bulwark against Gujarat; if attacked at once, Bahadur Shah might perhaps have been crushed at the first blow.

But as it happened, 'Sultan Bahadur carried on the siege of Chitor at his ease, and finally took it by storm, and secured an immense booty. In celebration of the victory, he gave a great feast, and divided the spoil among his soldiers. Then he turned his front to the Imperial army.'

(iii) Humayun then, hearing of this, marched against Bahadur Shah and met him at Mandasor. The King of Gujarat again called a council of war. Sadr Khan advised giving battle, but Rumi Khan who commanded the artillery, counselled entrenchment so as to give full play to his guns (*top*) and rockets (*tufang*). 'They were very strong in artillery, and except the Emperor of Rūm, no other potentate could equal them. Sultan Bahadur acquiesced in this view, and ordered an entrenchment to be formed round his camp.'[1]

was complied with. Humayun with some loss of reputation, soon after decamped, compelled to repress disturbances in Jaunpur and Bihar. The Rana despairing of assistance bought peace of Bahadur Shah (Erskine, op. cit., pp. 14-15).

1. 'Flushed with the recent victory the Gujaratis might probably have overwhelmed Humayun's army, on which the irritations as well as the revels of the delay had exerted their usual influences; but the

For two months Humayun did nothing but cut off the supplies of the enemy. Famine ensued in the enemy's camp. 'The horses and animals and many men perished from want, and the army was dismounted. When Sultan Bahadur perceived that if he remained longer he would be taken prisoner, he went off by the rear of the pavilion and went towards Mandu with five of his most trusty adherents ..... When his men heard of his escape, they took to flight.'

(iv) Humayun pursued Bahadur Shah to Mandu and besieged the fort. 'Sultan Bahadur was asleep when the alarm was raised. A general panic followed and the Gujaratis took to flight. Sultan Bahadur made off with five or six horsemen towards Gujarat, and Sadr Khan and Sultan Alam (Lodi) threw themselves into the fort of Sungar, which is the citadel of Mandu. Next day they came out, and were conducted to the presence of the Emperor. They were both wounded. Sadr Khan was placed in confinement and an order was given for cutting off the feet of Alam Khan.'

(v) 'Three days after, the Emperor left the fort and marched on towards Gujarat. Sultan Bahadur had much treasure and many jewels in the fort of Champanir, and these he carried off to Ahmadabad. (He set fire to the town before leaving Champanir.) Humayun pursued him up to Cambay. On his way he took Ahmadabad, which being plundered yielded enormous spoil.' Bahadur Shah ultimately escaped to the island of Diu.[1]

Note—Humayun, instead of following up his success and finishing with the fugitive, marched to Champanir. This was his fourth blunder.

triumph of the heavy artillery in the siege of Chitor had given undue weight to the advice of the Ottoman engineer, the 'Rumi Khan,' who had worked the guns with the help of the Portuguese and other European gunners; and, as with Sir John Burgoyne before Sevestopol, the voice of the engineer prevailed over the bolder counsels of the cavalry leaders'. (Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 224).

1. July 1535. The same day on which he left Cambay, Humayun arrived, and 'encamped on the shore of the salt sea' which none of his ancestors had ever seen.

(vi) Champanir[1] was no doubt taken (1535-6), Humayun himself with Bairam Khan scaling the fort at night its most abrupt side, with the help of steel spikes driven into the scarp of the rock. 'Great numbers of the garrison were slain, and many of their wives and children cast themselves down from the walls of the fort and were killed.' Ikhtiyar Khan who held a high position among the Gujaratis, was kindly received by the Emperor, who 'made him one of his personal attendants.' He was a man of great knowledge and experience, and had a great reputation as a statesman, an accomplished geometrician and astronomer. He was also of some repute as a poet. When the fort was taken, the place where Bahadur Shah had hidden his treasure was known only to one officer. Humayun instead of getting the secret out of him by torture, preferred to make use of wine: the man was invited to an entertainment; and 'when his heart was softened by kindness and warmed with good cheer,' he revealed the secret. The treasure was found in a vault under the bed of a reservoir.[2]

'The gold was divided among the soldiers,—so much a head. The goods and stuffs of Rūm, Europe and China, and of every part of the world, which the kings of Gujarat had treasured all fell a prey to the victors. So vast was the amount of gold,

1. *Champanir*: This important fortress occupies the upper part of a hill that rises towering out of the level plain, in the south-east portion of Gujarat and is visible over a great part of that province. The fortress is surrounded on several of its sides by steep and nearly perpendicular rocks which have gained for it the reputation of being impregnable to active operation. It had an upper and a lower fort, the one rising above the other; while the extensive, and at the same time magnificent town of Muhammadabad—Champanir extended on one side along its base. Humayun invested it vainly for four months but finally took it in the manner described.

'The great strength of this place, the numerous garrison, and the boldness and success of the enterprise by which its capture was achieved,' says Ferishta, 'render this action equal, in the opinion of military men, to anything of the kind recorded in history.'—(Briggs, II, p. 79).

2. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 443 n.

and effects that came into the possession of the soldiers, that no person attempted to collect revenue that year in Gujarat.'[1]

(vii) After this, there was a slight rally at Ahmadabad, in favour of Bahadur Shah. But Mirza Askari who was at Muhammadabad won over them an easy victory. 'More than two thousand men were killed in the battle.'[2]

(viii) After this, the Emperor bestowed Ahmadabad and its dependencies upon Mirza Askari in *jagir*, Patan upon Mirza Yadgar Nasir, and Broach upon Mirza Hindu Beg. Tardi Beg received Champanir, and Kasim Hussain obtained Baroda. Khan Jahan Shirazi and other nobles also received grants. The Emperor proceeded after these successes to Burhanpur, and from thence to Mandu.[3]

"Malwa and Gujarat—two provinces equal in area to all the rest of Humayun's kingdom—had fallen like ripe fruit into his hands. Never was conquest so easy. Never, too, was conquest more recklessly squandered away."[4]

Note—This was Humayun's fifth great blunder in this direction. Instead of ensuring the settled government of the conquered provinces he was content to assign its various parts to governors whose loyalty had not been tested, and hastened to devote himself to pleasures. 'The Emperor

1. Cf. Ferishta; Briggs, II, p. 80.

2. 'The author of this work (*Tabkat-i-Akbari*) heard from his father who was then wazir of Mirza Askari, that at midday, when it was intensely hot, the Gujaratis came hastily out of Ahmadabad .... Mirza Yadgir Nasir and Mirza Hindu Beg came up in due order, with their forces, and the Gujaratis took to flight.'—(E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 196).

3. Ferishta adds: "In this state of affairs, Buhran Nizam Shah, Imad Shah, and the other sovereigns of the Deccan, apprehensive of his designs, wrote submissive letters, tendering their allegiance. Humayun had scarcely obtained their flattering tokens of his success, when accounts arrived of the insurrection created in the north by Sher Khan."—(Briggs, II, pp. 80–1).

4. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 225.

Humayun,' says Nazimu-d din Ahmad, 'remained for a year at Agra and took his pleasure.'[1]

(ix) Meanwhile, both Gujarat and Malwa were rapidly lost[2] (1535-36).

'One night Mirza Askari in a convivial party took too much wine, and giving license to his tongue, exclaimed, "I am a King, and the shadow of God." Just at this period Hindu Beg had counselled Mirza Askari to have the *khutba* recited and coin struck in his name, and set up his claim to independence, expecting that the troops in hopes (of reward) would devote themselves to his service. Mirza Askari did not accept this advice; but Tardi Beg ...... sent a messenger to Humayun, to inform him that Mirza Askari had hostile intentions, and was about to march upon Agra and proclaim himself King.'

Ahmadabad and other places revolted in favour of Bahadur Shah, who soon returned from Diu with Portuguese aid, and recovered all his lost dominions.[3] 'Mirza Askari and the *Amirs* mounted and made a show of fighting, and then retired.... But before Mirza Askari retreated from Ahmadabad, the news-writers and reporters had communicated to the Emperor the proposition which Mirza Hindu Beg had made to the Mirza for his assuming the crown, and although he had not assented thereto, they reported that he entertained hostile designs' (1535-36).

1. 'On the return of Humayun to his capital, it was observed that he gave way more than ever to the excessive use of opium: public business was neglected; and the governors of the surrounding districts taking advantage of the state of affairs, promoted their own aggrandisement.' (Briggs, II, p. 83).

2. "One year had seen the rapid conquest of the two great provinces; the next saw them as quickly lost." (Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 226).

3. Nuno d' Cuna, the Portuguese Viceroy, afforded Bahadur Shah a force of 500 Europeans in return for allowing them to fortify Diu and important trade concessions. Later Bahadur Shah was invited to a conference by the Portuguese in the course of which he fell into the sea and died in 1537, at the age of 30. But Humayun took no advantage of the death of his intrepid enemy which put Gujarat into disorder.

Humayun left Mandu, and reached Agra before Askari. Although not deceived, he considered it prudent to take no notice of reports. Thus the countries of Malwa and Gujarat, 'the conquest of which had been obtained by the exertions of so fine an army, were now abandoned without a struggle.'[1]

Note—This 'beautiful but unwise clemency' towards his brothers was to prove Humayun's ruin.

(x) When Sultan Bahadur was defeated, Humayun had sent away Muhammad Zaman Mirza to Sind, instead of taking better account of him. That pretender laid siege to Lahore, when, on account of trouble in Kandahar, Kamran had left the Punjab temporarily. When Muhammad Zaman heard of the Emperor's return to Agra, he again took refuge in Gujarat. Kamran meanwhile recovered Kandahar from the Persians who had for some time occupied it.[2]

The Fateful Contest with Sher Khan.

Sher Khan has already been mentioned as one of the important leaders of the Afghan revolt against the Mughals. His early life and career will be more fully dealt with in the next chapter. Here only his relations with Humayun will be considered.

(i) By the end of 1531 Sher Khan had made himself master of the province of South Bihar, and occupied the important stronghold of Chunar[3] (near Benares). In that year,

1. Ferishta; Briggs, II, p. 83.

2. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 199.

3. The fort of Chunar stands on a rock close to the Ganges, and is, as it were, a detached portion of the Vindhya Mountains which extend to the same river near Mirzapur. From that neighbourhood the hills recede westwards, by the fort of Rohtas and Shirghati, and do not approach the river again, until near Bhagalpur, after which they run straight south, leaving the Ganges at a great distance. These hills, therefore, cover the whole of the south-west of Bihar and Bengal, and shut up the road along the south bank of the Ganges, in two places—one near Chunar and the other at Sicragalli, east of Bhagalpur. The hills themselves are not high, but poor and covered with woods. "As Humayun marched along the Ganges and made use of that river to convey his guns and stores, it was necessary for him to begin with the siege of Chunar."— Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 446.

Humayun, before marching south against Bahadur Shah, but after the defeat of Mahmud Lodi at Dauroh, encountered Sher Khan for the first time.[1] The *Tarikh-i Sher-Shahi* of Abbas Khan gives the following account of this event:—

'When Humayun had overcome Sultan Mahmud, and had put the greater number of his opponents to death, he sent Hindu Beg to take Chunar from Sher Khan, but Sher Khan declined to give it up to him. When he heard this, Humayun commanded his victorious standards to be set in motion towards Chunar. . . . The army of Humayun besieged Chunar. . . . Sher Khan knew that the Emperor would be unable to delay long in those parts, for his spies brought him word that Bahadur Shah, the King of Gujarat, had conquered the kingdom of Mandu and was meditating the seizure of Delhi and would shortly declare war.[2] Humayun also having received this intelligence, Sher Khan sent his *vakil* to him and wrote saying, "I am your slave, and the client of Junaid Barlas. . . . As you must entrust the fort of Chunar to some one, make it over to me, and I will send my son Kutb Khan to accompany you in this expedition. Do you lay aside all anxiety as regards these parts; for if either I or any other Afghan do any act unbefitting or disloyal, you have my son with you; inflict on him such reprisals as may be a warning to others."

'When Sher Khan's emissary represented this to the Emperor Humayun, he replied, "I will give Chunar to Sher Khan, but on this condition, that he sends Jalal Khan[3] with me."

'Finally, when Humayun heard of Mirza Muhammad Zaman's escape from Bayana, and Bahadur Shah's intended

1. Gulbadan Begam states: 'He (Humayun) defeated them (Baban and Bayazid) and then went to Chunda (Chunar), took it and thence returned to Agra.' This is also confirmed by Jauhar.—(Qanungo, op. cit., p. 73.)

2. Abu-l Fazl also asserts that Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat sent him (Sher Khan) a subsidy and summoned him to his side. Farid made capital out of this for sedition and sent excuses for not going.—*Akbar-Nama*, I, p. 328.

3. Jalal Khan succeeded Sher Shah after his death, as Islam Shah.

march on Delhi, he agreed to Sher Khan's proposal. Sher Khan was delighted and sent Kutb Khan, his son, and Isa Khan his chamberlain, to the Emperor, who set off to Agra, and employed himself in suppressing the rebellion of Sultan Bahadur.'[1]

(ii) 'Sher Khan took advantage of this opportunity, and did not leave one enemy of his remaining throughout the kingdom of Bihar. When the Emperor came back from Gujarat, the Khan-Khanan Yusuf-Khail (who brought the Emperor Babur from Kabul to Hindustan) said to him: "It is not wise to neglect Sher Khan, for he is rebelliously inclined, and well understands all matters pertaining to government; moreover all the Afghans are collected round him." The Emperor Humayun, relying on the vastness of his forces, and on the pride of Empire, took no heed of Sher Khan, and remaining the rainy season at Agra, sent Hindu Beg to Jaunpur, with directions to write a full and true report regarding Sher Khan.

'When Sher Khan heard that the Emperor Humayun intended himself marching towards Bihar, he sent magnificent presents to Hindu Beg, Governor of Jaunpur, and gained his good-will. At the same time Sher Khan wrote thus: "From what I promised I have not departed. I have not invaded the Emperor's country. Kindly write to the Emperor, and assuring him of my loyalty, dissuade him from marching in this direction; for I am his servant and well-wisher." When Hindu Beg beheld Sher Khan's presents, he approved of them and was well pleased, and he said to the *vakil*, "So long as I live let your mind be easy. No one shall injure you." And in the presence of Sher Khan's *vakil* wrote a letter to the Emperor Humayun saying: "Sher Khan is a loyal servant of Your Majesty, and strikes coin and reads the *khutba* in your name, and has not transgressed the boundaries of Your Majesty's territory, or done anything since your departure, which could be any cause of annoyance to you." The

1. Kutb Khan escaped from Humayun when he was busy in Gujarat.—Erskine, op. cit., p. 12.

Emperor on receipt of Hindu Beg's letter, deferred his journey that year.

(iii) 'Sher Khan meanwhile detached Jalal Khan, Khawas Khan senior, and other chiefs, to conquer Bengal and the city of Gaur. On their entering Bengal, Sultan Mahmud, unable to oppose them retired to the fort of Gaur. The Afghans having made themselves masters of the surrounding country, invested and besieged that fortress, before which daily skirmishes took place.

(iv) 'The following year the Emperor marched towards Bihar and Bengal. When he arrived near Chunar,[1] he consulted his nobles whether he should first take Chunar, or march towards Gaur, which the son of Sher Khan was besieging, but had not yet taken. All his Mughal nobles advised that he should first take Chunar, and then march on Gaur, and it was so determined; but when Humayun asked the Khan-Khanan Yusuf-Khail for his opinion, he (having previously heard that the Mughal nobles had agreed it was advisable first to take Chunar) said, "It is a counsel of the young to take Chunar first; the counsel of the aged is, as there is much treasure in Gaur, it is advisable to take Gaur first; after that the capture of Chunar is an easy matter. The Emperor replied: "I am young, and prefer the counsel of the young. I will not leave the fort of Chunar in the rear." The author has heard from the Khan-Khanan's companions, that when he returned to his quarters, he observed: "The luck of Sher Khan is great, that the Mughals do not go to Gaur. Before they take this fort, the Afghans will have conquered Gaur,

1. The march took place, according to Elphinstone, in Safar 944 (July, 1537)—*History of India*, pp. 444-n 6. "The Memoirs of Humayun say that the army reached Chunar on the Shabi Barat (Shaban 15th) of A. H. 945, January 1539; but this would leave only 6 months for the conquest of Bengal, and all the other operations till Humayun's defeat in Safar A. H. 946, June 1539. I conclude therefore that the Memoir writer, who scarcely ever gives a date, may have mistaken the year, although he has remembered the festival, and that the siege began 15th Shaban, A. H. 944 (January 8th, 1538). All accounts agree that the siege lasted several months; some say 6 months."—(Ibid., p. 436 n.)

and all its treasures will fall into their hands.' When Chunar fell to Humayun, Gaur had already fallen to Sher Khan,[1] who also took about the same time the more important fort of Rohtas by stratagem.[2]

He (Sher Khan) thanked God and said: "The fort of Chunar is no fort in comparison with this; as that has gone out of my possession, this has come into it. I was not so pleased at the conquest of Gaur as (I am) at getting possession of Rohtas."

(v) 'After the Emperor had got possession of Chunar, he halted in Benares, and sent an envoy to Sher Khan, having in view to get possession of the country of Bihar. Sher Khan knew he had this design, and said to the envoy, "I have captured this fort of Gaur, and have collected about me a very large force of Afghans. If the Emperor will abandon all design upon Bengal, I will surrender Bihar to him, and make it over to whomsoever he will depute, and will agree to the same boundaries of Bengal as existed in Sultan Sikandar's time; and I will send all the ensigns of royalty—as the umbrella, throne, etc.,—to the Emperor, and will yearly send him ten *lacs* of rupees from Bengal. But let the Emperor return towards Agra." The Emperor, on hearing about Bihar, became exceedingly glad and agreed to what Sher Khan proposed...Sher Khan was much delighted, and said, "I will fulfil the terms agreed upon, and will pray day and night to Almighty God that while life lasts no hostility may

1. When the fort fell into Sher Khan's hands there was such a mass of treasure in it, that, according to Niamatulla, 'he could not get a sufficient number of porters to carry it, and was at a loss how to convey these effects to Rohtas.' Finally, all the elephants, camels, oxen and all the beasts of burden captured at Ghari, from the Mughals, were utilised for the purpose.—(E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 112)

By his wrong choice, Humayun committed a great blunder, and walked into the snare that Sher Khan had cleverly laid for him. He had to pay dearly for this initial mistake in strategy. After the fall of Chunar, as was his wont, he indulged in giving a great banquet, and in distributing honours and rewards.—(Jauhar; ibid., p. 140)

2. For details of this see E. & D. op. cit. IV, pp. 357-462; also Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 455 n. 10.

befall between the Emperor and myself, for I am his dependant and servant."

(vi) 'Three days after this despatch the envoy of Sultan Mahmud, the successor of Nusrat Shah of Bengal, came into the presence of the Emperor Humayun, and made the following communication: "The Afghans have seized the fort of Gaur, but most of the country is yet in my possession; let not Your Majesty trust to Sher Khan's promises, but march towards these parts, and before they have established and strengthened themselves, expel them from the country, and altogether suppress this revolt. I also will join you, and they are not powerful enough to oppose you." As soon as he heard this report of Sultan Mahmud, the Emperor ordered his victorious standards to be set in motion towards Bengal.'

Jauhar adds,—'The king moved forward with the whole army, and in four days with little difficulty took possession of Gaur, the capital of Bengal, and drove away all the Afghans. After cleansing and repairing the city, the first act of His Majesty was to divide the province into *jagirs* among his officers; after which he very unaccountably shut himself up in his *harem*, and abandoned himself to every kind of indulgence and luxury. While the King had thus for several months given himself up to pleasure and indolence, information was at length conveyed to him that Sher Khan had killed 700 Mughals, had laid siege to the fortress of Chunar, and taken the city of Benares; and had also sent forward an army along the bank of the Ganges to take Kanauj; that he had further seized the families of several of the officers, and sent them prisoners to Rohtas.'[1]

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 141. 'When Humayun entered Gaur,' says Niamatulla, 'Sher Khan had previously fitted up all the mansions of that place with an exquisite variety of ornaments and embellishments, and rendered them a perfect gallery of pictures, by party-coloured carpets and costly silk-stuffs, in the hope that Humayun, charmed with it, would be induced to prolong his stay there; and his designs were unexpectedly seconded by fate, for Humayun remained four months in Gaur, and had no leisure for any others occupation than pleasure and enjoyment.'—Ibid., pp. 112-3.

(vii) Sher Khan looked upon Humayun's conduct as a definite betrayal of his previous engagement with himself. "I have observed all loyalty to the Emperor," he said, "and have committed no offence against him, and have not encroached upon his boundaries .... The Emperor desired the kingdom of Bihar, and I was willing to surrender it. But it is not the right way to govern a kingdom to alienate so large a force (as Sher Khan then possessed) from his service; and in order to please their enemies, to ruin and slay the Afghans. But since the Emperor takes no heed, and has violated his promise, . . . you will hear what deeds the Afghans will do, and the march to Bengal will end in repentance and regret, for now the Afghans are united, and have laid aside their mutual quarrels and envyings. The country which the Mughals have taken from the Afghans, they got through the internal dissension among the latter." As Humayun did not keep to his word, Sher Khan felt himself free to act as he pleased. Accordingly, he despatched some of his officers to the west to attack the Empire when Humayun was away in Bengal. 'They took Benares and killed the greater part of the Mughal garrison there. Then they proceeded to Bahraich, and drove out the Mughals from those parts, until they arrived at and captured the city of Sambhal, and made slaves of the inhabitants and spoiled the city. Another force was sent towards Jaunpur, the governor of which place was killed in battle, and the same force was sent in the direction of Agra. Every governor on the part of the Emperor Humayun, throughout the whole country, who offered any opposition, was killed, or was defeated and driven out of the country; so that all the districts as far as Kanauj and Sambhal fell into the possession of the Afghans. The officers of Sher Khan also collected the revenue of both the autumn and spring harvests of these parts.'

(viii) Meanwhile, Mirza Hindal who had returned to Agra from Humayun's camp, raised the standard of revolt at the capital, and murdered Sheikh Bahlol who was much respected by the Emperor Humayun. 'When the Emperor heard

of this defection, he left Jahangir Beg in charge of Bengal, with a reinforcement of 5,000 chosen men, and set off for Agra. At this time Muhammad Zaman Mirza returned from Gujarat with great contrition, and waited upon the Emperor, who forgave him and did not utter a word of reproach.'[1] Humayun, however, was not allowed to escape so easily by Sher Khan.

(ix) The latter, summoning all his forces from Bihar, Jaunpur, and other places, collected them in the environs of the fort of Rohtas. Thence he marched to confront the Emperor. 'At every stage he entrenched himself with an earth-work, and going on entirely at his leisure, made very short marches. When the Emperor heard that Sher Khan was coming, he retraced his steps, and turned in the direction of Sher Khan's army. But, Sher Khan, on hearing this, wrote to the Emperor saying, that if the Emperor would give him the kingdom of Bengal, and be satisfied that the *khutba* be read and money struck in the Emperor' sname, he would be the Emperor's vassal.' 'These proposals were received with great satisfaction.'[2] 'Then Humayun sent Sheikh Khalil on an embassy to Sher Khan...Sheikh Khalil, in the presence of the Emperor's men who had accompanied him, debated long and earnestly with Sher Khan, and strongly advised the proposed peace; and during the consultation, the following words fell from Sheikh Khalil: "If you do not agree to peace, away with you; declare war and fight." Sher Khan said, "What you say is a good omen for me; please God, I will fight." After the consultation, Sher Khan gave to Sheikh Khalil money and rich clothes and manufactures of Malda and of Bengal in enormous quantities, and captivated his heart by these presents and favours. Then he plied him with further flatteries, as a result of which he got the following advice :—

1. *Tabakat-i-Akbari;* E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 201-2.

2. 'But next morning Sher Khan fell upon the royal army unawares and put it to the rout before it could be drawn up in array.'–Ibid., p. 203.

"War with the Emperor Humayun is more for your advantage than peace; for this reason, that in his army the most complete disorder exists,[1] he has no horses or cattle and his own brothers are in rebellion against him.[2] He only makes peace with you now from necessity, and will not eventually abide by the treaty. Look on this opportunity as so much gained, and do not let it out of your grasp, for you will never again have such another."

Having consulted his nobles, and finding that they all enthusiastically responded, Sher Khan addressed his army thus: "For two days I have drawn out my army, and have returned to my encampment, that I might put the Emperor off his guard, and that he might not suspect that my army was coming towards him. Now turn, set your faces towards the army of the Emperor, and let not the honour of the Afghans out of your grasp nor fail to display your utmost devotion, for now is the time to regain the Empire of Hindustan."

The Afghans replied, "Let not our lord allow any hesitation to find its way to his noble heart." Having read the *fatiha*, and drawn up his forces in order of battle, Sher Khan

1. 'Long marches and the unwholesome climate of Bengal destroyed the horses of the soldiers, and the Emperor's army arrived quite destitute of provisions at Chaunsa.... Sher Khan having got intelligence of the distress of the army, came and placed himself in front of the Emperor, and the armies remained confronting each other three months.'—Ibid., p. 202.

2. Ferishta writes,—'To add to Humayun's embarrassments which could hardly be exceeded, his brother Kamran Mirza, instead of aiding him in this crisis, aspired to the throne, and marched with 10,000 horse from Lahore, giving out that he came to offer assistance. On the arrival of Kamran at Delhi, Hindal Mirza prevailed on him to unite their forces in prosecution of the seige.... The princes finding the governor of Delhi refusing to surrender or betray, raised the siege and marched towards Agra. On reaching that city, the jealousy which the brothers naturally entertained against each other (the eyes of both being turned towards the throne) evinced itself in open war. Hindal Mirza, being deserted by many of his party, fled to Alwar with 5,000 horse and 300 elephants; while Kamran Mirza entering Agra proclaimed himself King.'—Briggs, II, p. 86.

with all haste marched towards the Emperor's camp. When the Afghans were close at hand, news was brought to the Emperor that Sher Khan was coming with all speed to battle with him.

'The Emperor ordered out his army to resist the attack, saying that after a short delay and having performed his ablutions, he also would follow. The Emperor was a lion in valour, and in the excess of his gallantry and daring, and the pride of youth, and confidence in the multitude of his forces and followers, who had no equals for intrepidity and gallantry, he despised the forces of Sher Khan who were all Afghans, and did not even inspect his forces nor pay regard to what is necessary in an engagement; nor did he take into consideration the disorganisation which the climate of Bengal had produced in his army.'[1]

'Sher Khan knew all the devices and stratagems of war, and knew how to commence and conclude an engagement, and had experienced both prosperity and misfortune. The army of the Mughals had not extricated themselves from their camp, before the Afghan army were already upon them, and coming boldly on, attacked the army of the Emperor without hesitation. In the twinkling of an eye, they routed the Mughal forces on 26th June, 1539. Humayun had not completed his ablutions when the intelligence reached him that the Mughals were utterly scattered, so that to rally them was impossible. The confusion in the army was so great that he had no time to remove his family,[2] but fled in the direction of Agra with the intention of collecting all his forces at that place, and returning again from thence to destroy his enemy.'

1. 'Both armies lay three months inactive at a time when Humayun ought to have brought on action at all hazards being every day insulted and harassed by the enemy's light troops.'—Ibid., p. 85.

2. 'Sher Khan, some days afterwards, sent the queen to Rohtas under charge of Husain Khan Nirak, and providing the families of the other Mughals with carriages and their necessary expenses, sent them on towards Agra.'—E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 376.

Jauhar, Humayun's personal attendant, gives the following particulars of the disastrous end of this battle (of Chupaghat or Chaunsa) :—

'An archer seated on an elephant discharged an arrow which wounded the King in the arm, and the enemy began to surround him.[1] His Majesty then called to his troops to advance and charge the enemy, but no one obeyed ; and the Afghans having succeeded in throwing everything into confusion, one of the King's followers came up, seized his bridle, and said, "There is no time to be lost ; when your friends forsake you, flight is the only remedy." The King then proceeded to the bank of the river, and although followed by one of his own elephants, he urged his horse into the stream, but in a short time the horse sank. On seeing this event, a water-carrier, who had distended his leather bag (*masak*) with air offered it to His Majesty, who by means of the bag swam the river.[2]

'According to the most authentic accounts, 8,000 Mughals exclusive of Hindus, were drowned, during the flight, among whom was the prince Muhammad Zaman Mirza.'[3]

(x) After this victory, Sher Khan assumed the title and insignia of royalty, at the desire of his nobles. Sher Khan said, "The kingly name is a very exalted thing, and is not devoid of trouble ; but since the noble minds of my friends have decided to make me King, I agree." He seated himself on the throne, unfolded the umbrella over his head, and assumed the name of Sher Shah, and struck coin, and caused the *khutba* to be read in his own name ; and he took also the additional title of Shah Alam.[4] The coronation, according to

1. Note the difference in the previous account of Abbas Khan and this of Jauhar, regarding the part played by Humayun in this engagement.

2. 'On reaching his capital, Humayun allowed the man who had saved his life to sit on the throne for half a day, and permitted him to reward his own relatives during that time with princely presents.'—Ferishta ; Briggs, II, p. 88.

3. Ibid. ; also E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 203.

4. His coins bear the title of 'Sultan-ul Adil.'—Thomas, op. cit., p. 395.

Qanungo, took place at Gaur, about the beginning of December, 1539.[1]

(xi) Meanwhile Humayun reached Agra. 'Mirza Kamran had received no intelligence before the Emperor arrived. The latter repaired at once to the pavilion of his brothers, and on seeing each other, the eyes of the brothers filled with tears. Hindal Mirza (who had come from Alwar) received pardon for his offences, and then came and waited upon the Emperor. Muhammad Sultan Mirza and his sons also came in and joined them. Consultations were held. Mirza Kamran was desirous of returning to Lahore, and showed unbounded expectations. The Emperor assented to all his extraordinary propositions. Khwaja Kalan Beg exerted himself to bring about the return of Mirza Kamran. The negotiations went on for six months. Meanwhile, Mirza Kamran had been attacked with severe sickness, and some designing persons had instilled into his mind that his illness was the result of poison administered to him by the Emperor's directions. So, ill as he was, he started for Lahore, having sent Khwaja Kalan Beg in advance. He promised to leave a considerable portion of his army to assist his brother at Agra ; but in spite of this promise, he carried all off with him, excepting only 2,000 men whom he left at Agra under the command of Sikandar.'[2]

(xii) Sher Shah himself pursued the Emperor Humayun and got possession of the whole country, as far as Kalpi and Kanauj. He sent Isa Khan towards Gujarat and Mandu and to the chiefs of these parts he wrote saying, "I am about to send a son of mine into your neighbourhood. When the Emperor Humayun moves towards Kanauj, do you accompany my son, and seize and lay waste the country about Agra and Delhi."

'News arrived that the Emperor Humayun purposed marching towards Kanauj. Sher Shah despatched his son Kutb Khan to Mandu, in order that he might, in concert with

1. Qanungo, op. cit., p. 208.
2. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 204.

the chiefs of those parts, alarm and ravage the country about Agra and Delhi.

'When the Emperor Humayun heard that Sher Shah had sent this son towards Chanderi, that he might raise disturbances in those parts, he sent both his brothers, Mirza Hindal and Mirza Askari, with other nobles in that direction. When the Malwa chiefs heard that the two brothers of the Emperor were coming to oppose Kutb Khan, they gave him no assistance. Kutb Khan went from Chanderi to the city of Chondha (Kalpi) ?[1], and, engaging the Mughals at Chondha, was slain. Mirza Hindal and Mirza Askari having gained this victory, returned to the Emperor.

When Sher Shah heard this, he was extremely grieved and enraged. The Mughals gained excessive confidence from this victory, and large forces having come also from their own country, the Emperor Humayun arrayed his army and came to Kanauj (Zilkada, 946 A. H., April 1540). Sher Shah also fortified himself on the opposite side.'

BATTLE OF KANAUJ OR BILGRAM

(xiii) 'On the 10th Muharram, 947, A. H. both armies drew out their forces . . When Sher Shah had drawn up his army, . . he said to the Afghans: "I have used my best exertions to collect you together, I have done my best in training you, and have kept you in anticipation of a day like this. This is the day of trial; whoever of you shows himself to excel in valour on the field of battle, him will I promote above his fellows." The Afghans replied, "The mighty King has much protected and favoured us. This is the time for us to serve him and show our devotion."

'Sher Shah ordered each chief to return to his own followers and to remain with them; and he himself went through the army and set it in proper array.'

Quite in contrast to this was the ineptitude on the side of Humayun. Mirza Haidar, Babur's cousin, who was himself one of the commanding officers on the occasion, vividly des-

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 204.

cribes the condition of the Mughal army and the course and result of the battle thus:—

'The Imperial army reached the banks of the Ganges in the best way that it could. There it encamped and lay for about a month, the Emperor being on one side of the river, and Sher Shah on the other, facing each other. The armies may have amounted to more than 200,000 men. Muhammad Sultan Mirza, who had several times revolted against Humayun, but being unsuccessful, had sought forgiveness and had been pardoned, now having colluded with Sher Shah, deserted.

'A new way was thus opened. Everybody began to desert, and the most surprising part of it was, that many of those who deserted did not go over to Sher Shah, and could expect no favour from him. A heated feeling ran through the army, and the cry was, "Let us go and rest in our own homes." A number also of Kamran's auxiliary forces deserted and fled to Lahore . . .

'As the army had taken to desert, it was judged better to risk a battle, than to see it go to ruin without fighting. If the result was unfavourable, in that case, we could not at least be accused of having abandoned the Empire without striking a blow. We therefore crossed the river. Both armies entrenched themselves. Everyday skirmishes occurred between the adventurous swaggering spirits of both sides. These proceedings were put an end to by the monsoon rains, which came on and flooded the ground, rendering it unfit for camp. To move was indispensable. Opinions were expressed that another such a deluge would sink the whole army in the abyss of despair, and it was decided to move to a rising ground, which the inundation could not reach, and which lay in front of the enemy. I went to reconnoitre, and found a place suitable for the purpose . . .

'Between me and the river there was a force of 27 *Amirs*, all of whom carried the *tugh* banner[1] ...On the day of battle,

1. *Tugh* was the standard surmounted by the flowing tail of a mountain cow, an object of great ambition, and granted only to the heroes.—Erskine, op. cit., p. 541.

when Sher Shah, having formed his divisions, marched out, of all these 27 *tugh* banners, not one was to be seen, for the great nobles had hidden them in the apprehension that the enemy might advance towards them. The soldiership and bravery of these *Amirs* may be conceived from this exhibition of courage. Sher Shah came out in five divisions of 1000 men each, and in advance of him were 3000 men. I estimated the whole as being less than 15,000, but I calculated the Chaghatai force as about 40,000, all mounted on tipchak horses, and clad in iron armour. They surged like the waves of the sea, but the courage of the *Amirs* and officers of the army was such as I have described.'

'Every *Amir* and *Wazir* in the Chaghatai army, whether he be rich or poor, has his *ghulams*. An *Amir* of note with his 100 retainers and followers has 500 servants and *ghulams*, who in the day of battle render no assistance to their master and have no control over themselves. So in whatsoever place there was conflict, the *ghulams* were entirely ungovernable. When they lost their masters, they were seized with panic, and blindly rushed about in terror. In short, it was impossible to hold our ground. They so pressed upon us in the rear, that they drove the centre upon the chains stretched between the gun-carriages, and they and the soldiers dashed each other upon them. Such was the state of the centre.

'On the right, Sher Shah advanced in battle array; but before an arrow was discharged, the camp-followers fled like chaff before the wind, and breaking the line, they all pressed towards the centre.

'The Chaghatais were defeated in this battle-field where not a man, either friend or foe, was wounded; not a gun was fired; and the chariots were useless.'

'But the Emperor Humayun himself,' says Abbas Khan, 'remained firm like a mountain in his position on the battle-field, and displayed such valour and gallantry as is beyond all description. But when he saw supernatural beings fighting against him, he acknowledged the work of God, abandoned the battle to these unearthly warriors, and turned the bridle of

his purpose towards his capital of Agra. He received no wound himself, and escaped safe and sound out of that blood-thirsty whirlpool.[1] The greater part of his army was driven into the river Ganges.[2]

'The Emperor fled to Agra; and when the enemy approached that city, he made no delay but went to Lahore.'[3]

(xiv) Sher Shah having sent two of his best officers to besiege Gwalior and Sambhal, and 'speedily settled the country about Kanauj, betook himself in the direction of Agra. When Sher Shah approached Agra, the Emperor, unable to remain there, fled towards Lahore. Sher Shah was greatly displeased at this, ... and on his arrival at Agra, remained there, for some days himself, but sent Khawas Khan and Barmazid Gur in the direction of Lahore, with a large Afghan force to pursue the Emperor ... But the Emperor and Mirza Kamran quitted Lahore, which was shortly afterwards occupied by Sher Shah, who, however, made no halt there. On the third march beyond Lahore, he heard that Mirza Kamran had gone by way of the Judh hills to Kabul, and that the Emperor Humayun was marching along the banks of the Indus to Multan and Bhakkar. The King went to Khushab and thence despatched Khawas Khan ... and the greater part of the army, in pursuit of the Emperor, towards Multan. He

1. Humayun crossed the river on the back of an elephant; but the opposite bank was so steep that he could not find a place to ascend. 'At length,' says Jauhar, 'some of the colour-men, who were on the lookout for him, tied their turbans together, and throwing an end of the cloth to him, he with some difficulty climbed up. They then brought him a horse, on which he mounted and proceeded towards Agra.'—(E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 144.)

2. "Most writers," says Elphinstone, "ascribe Humayun's defeat to treachery, and say that Sher Shah attacked him during an armistice, or even after a peace had been signed. But Abu-l Fazl asserts, with great justice to Sher Shah, that he delayed Humayun's retreat by amusing him with negotiations, but never professed to suspend his hostility, and was entirely indebted to his military skill for the success of his stratagem."—(*Hist. of India*, p. 450 n.)

3. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 205.

instructed them not to engage the Emperor, but to drive him beyond the borders of the Kingdom, and then to return.'

The Futile Conclave.

Here we must slightly retrace our steps to recount Humayun's last pathetic efforts to win the co-operation of his ungrateful brothers. 'At the beginning of Rabiu-l awwal all the Chaghatai Sultans and *Amirs* were assembled in Lahore; but Mirza Muhammad Sultan and his sons, who had come to Lahore, fled from thence to Multan. Mirza Hindal and Mirza Yadgar Nasir found it expedient to go towards Bhakkar and Tatta, and Mirza Kamran determined to go to Kabul as soon as the party was broken up.

'It was abundantly manifest to the Emperor that there was no possibility of bringing his brothers and *Amirs* to any common agreement, and he was very despondent.' Ferishta says, "Humayun used every possible argument with his brothers to effect a coalition of interests against Sher Shah telling them that their intestine feud must end in their losing that mighty Empire which had cost their father so much pains to acquire; that their conduct would involve the house of Timur in one common ruin; and that no remedy existed but to reunite against the common enemy, and afterwards to divide the Empire amongst themselves. These arguments had no weight with the King's brothers, who, blinded by ambition, determined rather to lose all than to be content with a part.'[1]

'Mirza Haidar Beg after much consultation had been sent off with a party who had volunteered for service in Kashmir,[2] and Khwaja Kalan Beg was ordered to follow him. When the Mirza had reached Naushahar, and Kalan Beg had got as far as Sialkot, intelligence reached the Emperor that

1. Briggs, II, pp. 86-7.

2. When Mirza Haidar reached Kashmir, he found the people fighting against each other. A party of them came and waited upon him, and through them Kashmir fell into his hands, without striking a blow. On the 22nd Rajab, he became ruler of Kashmir.—E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 206.

Sher Shah had crossed the river (Biyah) at Sultanpur, and was only a few *kos* distant. His Majesty then passed over the river of Lahore.

'Mirza Kamran, after proving faithless to the oaths and compacts which he had made to help in whatever was decided upon, now thought it expedient to retire with the Emperor to Bahra.[1] When Khwaja Kalan Beg heard of this, he marched rapidly from Sialkot, and joined the camp of Humayun. At Bahra, Mirza Kamran and Mirza Askari parted from Humayun, and went off accompanied by Khwaja Kalan Beg to Kabul.' This was towards the end of October, 1546.

III. FIFTEEN YEARS OF EXILE (1540-55)

Wandering in the Desert.

'Mirza Hindal and Mirza Yadgar Nasir still remained with Humayun, but after a few stages they also disagreed. For twenty days they disappeared, but falling into difficulties, they once more came back and made their submission. On the banks of the river Sind (Indus) a famine arose in the camp, and boats to cross the river were not procurable. They wandered about from place to place,—Rohri, Bhakkar, Patar—and sought refuge in vain from Shah Husain Arghun, ruler of Tatta, with a view to '*attempt the recovery of Gujarat.*'

'Grain becoming scarce at Bhakkar, the Emperor marched off to Patar, where Mirza Hindal was staying, for he had heard that Mirza Hindal intended to go to Kandahar. It was here, in the camp of Hindal at Patar, that Humayun fell in love with Maryam-i Makani Hamida Banu Begam (who soon became mother of Akbar), in the summer of 1541. Nizamu-d din says, he 'spent several days of happiness and pleasure in the camp of Hindal.' The Emperor forbade Hindal to go to Kandahar, but he did not obey. When Humayun was informed of it, he was much troubled by the want of union among his brothers.

1. Abu-l Fazl says, he sent an envoy to Sher Shah, intriguing for the Punjab.—*Akbar-Nama*, I, p. 205.

Then the conquest of Tatta was thought of. 'When the Emperor marched for Tatta, a large body of soldiers parted from him, and stayed at Bhakkar. Then he made a vain attempt to capture the fort of Shiwan, and retired to Bhakkar. Mirza Yadgar Nazir proved treacherous and helped the enemy to harass Humayun, but Humayun once more forgave him, and spoke not a word of all that had passed.' But, 'he once more exhibited his animosity to the Emperor, and never again sought a reconciliation'. The men of Humayun's army, being in great distress, began to desert by ones and twos to Mirza Yadgar Nasir, who 'in the depths of his infamy, now prepared to turn his arms against Humayun' himself.

In this extremity he resolved upon marching to Maldeo 'one of the faithful *zamindars* of Hindustan, who at that time surpassed all the *zamindars* of Hindustan in power and in the number of his forces.' This Maldeo had sent letters to Bhakkar, declaring his loyalty, and offering assistance in effecting the subjugation of Hindustan. Humayun, accordingly marched towards Maldeo's country by way of Jesalmir. The ruler of this latter place, Rai Lon Qaran, 'shamefully took an unmanly course'. He sent a force to attack the small party of the Emperor on the march; but it was defeated and driven back with loss. Humayun had a great many men wounded. Then he marched with all possible speed, till he reached the country of Maldeo, and sent on Atka Khan to Maldeo at Jodhpur, while he himself halted for a few days at some distance.

'When Maldeo was informed of the Emperor's weakness he was much alarmed, for he knew that he had not sufficient forces of his own to withstand Sher Shah. For Sher Shah had sent an ambassador to Maldeo, holding out great expectations; and the latter, in the extreme of perfidy, had promised to make Humayun a prisoner if possible, and to give him over into the hands of his enemy. Nagor and its dependencies had fallen into the power of Sher Shah, and consequently he was afraid lest Sher Shah should be annoyed, and send a large army into his territory against Humayun. But luckily, one

of the Emperor's librarians, who at the time of his defeat had fled to Maldeo, now wrote to Humayun informing him that Maldeo was bent upon treachery, and advising him to get out of his territory as quickly as possible. So Humayun marched off at once to Amarkot.

'At length, with extreme toil, they reached Amarkot, which is 100 *kos* distant from Tatta. The Rana of Amarkot was kindly disposed, and came out to meet the Emperor, and offered his services. The army rested from their hardships some days in the city, and whatsoever the Emperor had in his treasury, he distributed among his soldiers. Fortune now for a time changed its treatment of the Emperor, by giving him a son, and impressing an imperishable mark upon the page of time. The child was born on the 5th Rajab, 949 A. H., 15th October, 1542, and the Emperor under spiritual guidance gave to the child the name of Jalalu-d din Muhammad Akbar.'

About July 1543,[1] 'His Majesty, seeing that it was not advisable to remain longer in this country, determined upon going to Kandahar. At this time Bairam Khan, who later became famous as Akbar's guardian, rejoined him; he had sought refuge in Gujarat after Humayun's defeat at Kanauj, and after some adventures found the way back to his master.[2] But Humayun's enemies still dogged his footsteps. Shah Husain of Tatta informed Mirzas Askari and Kamran about his movements, and those ungrateful wretches 'wrote back desiring him to bar his progress and make him prisoner.' Humayun only said: "What is the worth of Kandahar and Kabul that I should strive with my faithless brothers?"

1. "Three years had elapsed since his first arrival in Sind, of which 18 months had been occupied in his negotiations and military attempts in that country; 6 months were spent in his journeys to the eastward of the Indus, and a year in his residence at Jun (a branch of the Indus, half way between Tatta and Amarkot) and his journey to Kandahar."—(Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 455.)

2. Erskine, op. cit., pp. 258–59; E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 215.

Leaving the young Prince Akbar, who was only a year old, at Kandahar, in the charge of a small party,[1] Humayun accompanied by Bairam Khan and a few others, 'set off even without determining the route.'

'The hostile proceedings of his brothers made these parts no safe place for His Majesty; so he proceeded onwards towards Khorasan and Iraq.

In Persia.

Upon entering Sistan, Ahmad Sultan Shamlu, governor of that province under Shah Tahmasp, received him with great kindness. Thence, he proceeded to Herat, 'because he had heard great praise of the city,' and was equally well received. 'He received all that he could require, and lacked nothing until the time of his meeting Shah Tahmasp. All the palaces and gardens of Herat are beautiful to see, and His Majesty visited them, after which he took his departure for Meshed and Tus.'

Under the orders of the Shah, every governor on the route supplied him with all things he required. At length he reached Pulak Surlik and had an interview with Shah Tahmasp, who entertained him and showed every honour and distinction, worthy of both host and guest. He obtained from the Shah a force of 14,000 men, with whom he marched towards Kandahar. In return Humayun promised to establish the *Shia* faith in his dominions, when he reacquired them, and to hand over Kandahar to the Persians.[2]

1. Askari carried off the Prince 'and gave him into the charge of Sultan Begam, his own wife, who treated him with great tenderness (during the year, 1544). Ibid., p. 216.

2. Shah Tahmasp was the son of Shah Ismael who had rendered assistance to Babur on very similar terms. Shah Ismael had established the *Shia* faith as the religion of Persia, and Tahmasp too was an equally ardent apostle of the sect. When Humayun showed some disinclination to accept the terms, Shah Tahmasp appears to have sent him a large supply of fuel, with the message that it should serve as his funeral pyre if he failed to become a *Shia*. Humayun was also presented with three papers, any one of which he was asked to sign. The *qazi* who brought these to him said that it was his duty as well as interest to comply with the demand, which he had no means of effectually resisting.

Reconquest Commenced.

At this time, Kamran was in possession of Kabul, Hindal of Ghazni, and Askari of Kandahar. Kamran had also taken Badakhshan, or South Bactria, from Suleiman Mirza who had been placed there by Babur; North Bactria, including Balkh, was in the hands of the Uzbegs. Sher Shah was still alive, and therefore there was little to be hoped from an invasion of Hindustan.[1]

(i) 'When they reached the fort of Garmsir, they took possession of the Garmsir territories. On arriving at Kandahar, a large body of men sallied out of the fort, and made what resistance they could, but were defeated. The siege Kandahar went on for three months.'

Bairam Khan was sent to Kabul on an embassy to Kamran Mirza. There he had interviews with Kamran, Hindal, and others. Kamran sent his envoy 'to settle terms of peace if possible'. But Mirza Askari was still intent upon fighting and holding out.

The Persian forces were tired at the long duration of the siege of Kandahar, and had even thoughts of returning. But when many of the great *Begs* rallied round the Emperor Askari lost heart and proposed to surrender. 'The Emperor in his great kindness granted him terms.'

'It had been agreed with the Persians that as soon as Kandahar was taken it should be given up to them, and now the Emperor gave them possession of it, although he possessed no other territory . . . Mirza Askari having found an opportunity, made his escape; but a party being sent in pursuit, he was caught and brought back. His Majesty then placed him

"The memoir-writer does not mention, and may not have known the contents of the papers; but it seems clear that they must have contained a profession of the *Shia* religion, and a promise to introduce it into India, as well as, an engagement to cede the frontier province or kingdom of Kandahar.... That Humayun himself professed to have been converted appears from a pilgrimage which he made to the tomb of Shaikh Safi at Ardebil, a mark of respect not very consistent with the character of a professed Sunni."—Elphinstone, op. cit., pp. 463-5; see also Erskine, op. cit., p. 298.

1. Elphinstone, loc. cit., p. 466.

in confinement. The chiefs of the Chaghatai tribes now met in council, and resolved that under the necessities of the case, the fort of Kandahar must be taken from the Persians, and should be given up to them again after the reconquest of Kabul and Badakhshan.

'They entered the fort, and the Persians were overpowered. Humayun mounted his horse and went into the city ... The Chaghatais to their great satisfaction thus obtained possession of Kandahar' (September, 1545).

"The cession of Kandahar to the Persians was the price of the assistance of the Shah," observes Elphinstone, "and by availing himself of that assistance,... he ratified the engagement anew; and his infraction of it, especially with the concomitant circumstances, must leave him under the stigma of treachery."[1]

(ii) After this, Humayun marched to effect the conquest of Kabul, and left Bairam Khan in charge of Kandahar.

'Mirza Yadgar Nasir and Mirza Hindal, having devised a scheme together, deserted Kamran. After being much harassed by the Hazara tribes on their journey, they joined the Emperor and proceeded with him to Kabul ... Mirza Kamran who had a well-equipped army, marched out with the intention of fighting; but every night parties of men deserted his army and joined Humayun. Mirza Kamran, being alarmed, sent a party of Sheikhs to wait upon the Emperor and ask forgiveness. The Emperor agreed to pardon him, on condition of his coming in and making his submission. Kamran did not agree to this, but fled and shut himself up in the citadel of Kabul. All his forces came over to the side of the Emperor. On the same night Kamran fled to Ghazni. The Emperor sent Mirza Hindal in pursuit.

'The Emperor then entered Kabul (15th November, 1545), and at night the citizens in the extreme of joy, illuminated the whole city with lamps. On his entering the palace, Her Highness the Begam brought the young Prince Jalalu-d din Muhammad Akbar to his father's presence. This sight

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 468.

lighted up the heart of the Emperor with joy, and he offered up his thanksgivings for the reunion. The victory was accomplished on the 10th Ramzan, 953 A.H., when the Prince was 4 years, 2 months, and 5 days old. The remainder of that year the Emperor spent in enjoyment at Kabul.'

(iii) In the following year, Humayun marched to Badakhshan, for Mirza Suleiman had disregarded the summons to come in and make his submission. Mirza Suleiman was defeated and put to flight.

When Humayun was away in Badakhshan, Kamran, by a surprise attack, took possession of Kabul and Ghazni. Hearing of this, the Emperor turned towards Kabul, having put Suleiman again in charge of Badakhshan and Kunduz. Kamran had taken possession of Prince Akbar, and in the fight that ensued, he made good use of this possession. 'With dastardly feeling,' writes our historian, 'he ordered that His Highness the young Prince Akbar should be exposed upon the battlements, in the place where the balls and shot of the guns and muskets fell thickest. But Maham Anka took the child in her bosom, put herself forward, and held him towards the enemy (i. e. the garrison) and God Almighty preserved him.'[1] Kamran's spirit fell, and, from all parts and quarters men came in to render assistance to the Emperor. Reinforcements came from Badakhshan and Kandahar.

Mirza Kamran now sued for peace, and the Emperor granted it, upon condition of his personal submission. But he was afraid to do this, and sought to make his escape. After some scrapes and adventures he sought refuge in Badakhshan. In vain he tried to get help from the Uzbegs, and when he failed in this, being very much downcast, affected repentance and expressed his desire to go to Mecca. The Emperor once more pardoned him (April, 1547). 'When they met, he dis-

1. Abu-l Fazl relates in the *Akbar-Nama* that the Prince was actually exposed. But Bayazid, who was present, though he minutely describes other atrocities in his Memoirs, does not mention this; while Jauhar in his private Memoirs of Humayun, states that he only threatened to expose him, on which Humayun ordered the firing to cease.—Malleson, op. cit., p. 56 n.

played the greatest kindness to Kamran, who again received the ensigns of sovereignty. Three days they remained in the same place, and feasts and rejoicings went on. After some days, he gave the country of Kolab as an *ikta* to Kamran.

(iv) In June 1548, Humayun left Kabul, with the intention of proceeding against Balkh, and summoned Kamran and Askari. Though Hindal joined him, Kamran and Askari once more showed hostility, and did not come to pay their homage . . . .

'In consequence of Kamran's defection, a council of war was held to consider whether he might not make an attempt upon Kabul while the Emperor was engaged in Balkh. Humayun declared his opinion that as the invasion of Balkh had been undertaken, it should be prosecuted in full confidence; so the march was continued. But many of the men were discouraged by Kamran's remaining absent . . . . The expedition proved a failure' (1549-50).

Humayun reached Kabul in safety and remained there for the rest of the year. Kamran once again captured Kabul. Hindal remained with the Emperor, and Askari fell into his hands. Ultimately, Askari died 'in the country of Rūm' between Damascus and Mecca, in 1558.[1]

Kamran had married a daughter of Shah Husain Arghun of Sind. When Humayun dislodged him again, he sought help from his father-in-law, and made a fresh attempt on Kabul. In the course of this fight Hindal met his death—19 Nov., 1551.[2] Finally, Kamran sought refuge with Sultan Salim Shah Sur in Hindustan; but disgusted with the treatment he received there, he fled to the hills of Sialkot. Here he fell into the hands of Sultan Ahmad Gakkar, who sent him as a

1. *Tabakat-i Akbari*; E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 234. Malleson says that he was exiled to Mecca in 1551, where he died in 1559.—(*Akbar*, p. 59.)

2. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 234; Ferishta, Briggs, II, p. 169. 'Out of affection to the memory of Hindal Mirza, who had expiated for his former disobedience by his blood, he gave the daughter of that prince, Razia Sultana, to his son Akbar in marriage. He conferred on them, at the same time all the wealth of Hindal, and appointed Akbar to the command of his uncle's troops, and to the Government of Ghazni.'

captive to Humayun. 'The Emperor in his natural humanity was ready to overlook the offences of Kamran, but the officers and chiefs of the Chaghatai clans, who had suffered many things owing to Kamran's hostility, having agreed together, went to Humayun, and stated that the security of the Chaghatai clans and people depended on the destruction of Kamran Mirza, for they had repeatedly experienced the effects of his hostility. Humayun had no escape but by consenting that he should be blinded.'[1]

Ali Dost Barbegi, Saiyid Muhammad Bikna, and Ghulam Ali *Shash-angasht* (the six-fingered) deprived Mirza Kamran of his sight with a lancet.[2] Afterwards, the miserable prince obtained permission to go to Mecca, and 'being furnished with all that he could require for the journey, he set out'. He died in the holy city four years later, on 5th Oct., 1557'.[3]

1. Cf. Ferishta, Briggs, II, p. 170.

2. Jauhar gives all the painful details of the operation:—

'Early in the morning the King marched towards Hindustan, but before his departure, determined that the prince should be blinded, and gave orders accordingly; but the attendants on the prince disputed among themselves who was to perform the cruel act......Ghulam Ali represented to Kamran, in a respectful and condoling manner, that he had received positive orders to blind him. The prince replied, "I would rather that you would at once kill me". Ghulam Ali said, "We dare not exceed our orders". He then twisted a hand-kerchief as a ball for thrusting into the mouth, and he with the *farash*, seizing the prince by the hands, pulled him out of the tent, laid him down, and thrust a lancet into his eyes (such was the will of God!). This they repeated at least fifty times; but he bore the torture in a manly manner, and did not utter a single groan, except when one of the men who was sitting on his knees pressed him. He then said, "Why do you sit on my knees? What is the use of adding to my pain?" This was all he said, and he acted with great courage, till they squeezed some lemon juice and salt into the sockets of his eyes. He could not forbear, and called out, "O Lord, O Lord, my God, whatever sins I may have committed have been amply punished in this world; have compassion on me in the next"....... The author of these pages (Jauhar), seeing the prince in such pain and distress, could no longer remain with him. I therefore went to my own tent, and sat down in a melancholy mood.'—E. & D., op., cit., V, pp. 148-49.

3. Ibid., p. 235.

IV. RESTORATION AND DEATH (1555-56)

'After a time the intelligence came from India of the death of (Sultan) Salim Khan (Sur), and of the dissensions among the Afghans.[1] In November 1554, the Emperor began his march. When the army encamped at Peshawar, Bairam Khan, according to orders, came up from Kandahar, and the royal standards passed over the river Indus on the last day of that year. The governor of New Rohtas, although that fort had been strengthened, made no resistance, and fled... Humayun continued his march towards Lahore, and when the Afghans of that city became aware of the near advance of his army, they took to flight. He entered Lahore without opposition (24th February, 1555), and then sent on the nobles in command of the advance to Jalandhar and Sirhind. The districts of the Punjab, Sirhind, and Hissar, all came without a struggle into the hands of the Chaghatai forces. A body of Afghans, assembled at Dipalpur, were defeated, and their baggage and their wives and families became the prey of the victors.

'Sikandar Afghan, who held possession of Delhi, sent 30,000 men under Tatar Khan and Haibat Khan to attack the advance forces in Sirhind. The Chaghatai forces concentrated at Jalandhar, and for all the numbers of the enemy and their own paucity, they were ready to fight. They advanced and crossed the Sutlej... As the sun went down a great battle began.

Battle of Machwara.

'The Afghans began the battle with their archers, but as it was getting dark, the arrows took little effect on the Mughals, but the Afghans being greatly annoyed by the fire (*atashi*) threw themselves into a neighbouring village. As most of the houses

1. At the death of Salim Shah, the Sur Empire broke up into several parts: Sikandar Sur, to whose share the Punjab had fallen, had since attacked Ibrahim the usurper of Delhi and Agra and had driven him from his territories; while Adil Shah, the real sovereign, was carrying on operations against both.—Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 472

in the villages of Hindustan are thatched, a fire broke out, and lighting up the field of battle, the (Mughal) archers came out and plied their weapons heartily by the light of the burning village. The enemy in the glare of the fire, presented a fine mark for their shafts, and being unable to endure longer, took to flight.

'A great victory was gained, and elephants and much spoil fell into the hands of the victors. When the news of the victory reached Lahore, the Emperor was greatly delighted, and showed great honour to his generals. All the Punjab, Sirhind, and Hissar-Firoza were now in his possession, and some of the dependencies of Delhi also were in the hands of the Mughals.

'On hearing of this defeat, (Sultan) Sikandar Afghan marched forth to take his revenge, with 80,000 horsemen and elephants and artillery. He marched to Sirhind and there he entrenched and fortified his camp. The Chaghatai generals strengthened the fortifications of Si hin and making a good show of resistance, they wrote letters to Humayun for reinforcements. Thereupon he sent Prince Akbar towards Sirhind, and as he approached, the generals came out to meet him. The forces were drawn out in array with the greatest show against the enemy, who were four times more numerous than the Mughals.

Battle of Sirhind.

'For some days the daring spirits in both armies challenged each other to combat and displayed their valour, till at length the vanguard of Prince Akbar was drawn up for battle. A second division under Bairam Khan (*Khan-Khanan*) on the one side, and on the other a third division under Iskandar Khan......attacked the enemy. In the engagement all the nobles exhibited dauntless courage and the most determined resolution. The Afghans, 100,000 in number, were defeated, being inferior in courage, and (Sultan) Sikandar fled.

'The victors pursued the enemy and put many of them to death; and having secured an enormous booty, returned triumphant to wait upon the Emperor and congratulate him.

Under his orders a despatch of the victory was drawn, in which the honour of the victory was ascribed to Prince Akbar and this was circulated in all directions.'

'*This victory*,' says Ferishta, '*decided the fate of the Empire; and the kingdom of Delhi fell forever from the hands of the Afghans.*'[1]

Sikandar Khan Uzbeg was then sent on to Delhi, and the royal camp was moved to Samana. A body of Afghans in Delhi made their escape in hot haste, and Sikandar Uzbeg entered and occupied the city. Mir Abul Ma'ali was sent to Lahore to keep in check (Sultan) Sikandar, who had fled into the Siwalik mountains. 'In the month of Ramzan (23rd July, 1555) the Emperor entered Delhi, and once more the *khutba* was read, and the coins were stamped with his name in the territories of Hindustan. The chiefs who had taken part in the campaign were most liberally rewarded, and each one was made the ruler of a province. The remainder of this year was spent in ease and enjoyment.'

Death of Humayun.

But now, the most extraordinary event occurred. On the 8th Rabi-ul awwal, at sunset, the Emperor ascended to the top of the library, and there stood for a short time. As he was descending the *muazzin* cried aloud the summons to prayer, and he reverently sat down on the second step. When he was getting up again, his foot slipped, and he fell from the stairs to the ground. The people in attendance were greatly shocked, and the Emperor was taken up senseless, and carried into the palace. After a short time he rallied and spake. The Court physicians exerted all their powers but in vain. Next day he grew worse, and his case was beyond medical help. Sheikh Juli was sent to the Punjab to summon Prince Akbar. On the 15th Rabi-ul awwal, 963 A. H. (24th January, 1556), at the setting of the sun, he left this world for paradise. The date of his death is given in the line: "*Humayun badshah az bam uftad.*"'

1. Briggs, II, p. 176.

By a strange presentiment, as it were, sometime before his death, Humayun used to repeat with deep emotion, and tears gushing from his eyes, the following mystical verses, which he had heard from a supernatural voice[1] :—

"*O Lord, of Thine infinite goodness make me Thine own;*
Make me a partner of the knowledge of Thy attributes;
I am broken-hearted from the cares and sorrows of life;
O call to Thee Thy poor madman (lover),
O grant me my release!"

CHARACTER AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Contemporary Estimates.

Nizamu-d din Ahmad, whose narrative we have mainly followed for the life of Humayun, concludes his account of him with the following estimate of Humayun's character: 'He reigned for more than 25 years, and he was 51 years of age.[2] His angelic character was adorned with every manly virtue, and in courage and heroism he excelled all the princes of his time. All the wealth of Hindustan would not have sufficed to maintain his generosity. In the sciences of astrology and mathematics he was unrivalled. He made good verses, and all the learned and great and good of the time were admitted to his society and passed the night in his company. Great decorum was observed in his receptions, and all learned

1. 'I lately rose,' writes Humayun, 'after midnight to say the stated prayers, and afterwards retired again to rest; when just before dawn, as I was lying, my eyes shut but my heart awake, I heard a supernatural voice clearly repeat these verses.'—(Erskine, op. cit., p. 535.)

2. Humayun was 48 and not 51 years of age at the time of his death. "Although more than 25 years had elapsed since the death of Babur, in 1530, the effective reign of Humayun, including both his first and second periods of rule, had subsisted for only about ten years."—(Smith, *O. H.*, p. 327.)

discussions were conducted in the most orderly manner. The light of favour shone upon men of ability and worth, during his reign. Such was his clemency that he repeatedly pardoned the crimes of Mirza Kamran and the Chaghatai nobles, when they were taken prisoners and were in his power. He was particular about his ablutions (*wazu*), and never allowed the name of God to pass from his tongue until he had performed them. One day he called Mir Abu-l Hai, the *sadar* or Chief Judge, by the name of *Abdal*. But when he had gone through his ablutions he apologised, and said, that as *Hai* was a name of the Almighty he was unable to use that name before performing purification. Every apparent and conceivable virtue was manifest in him. May God have mercy on him!' (Nizamu-d din Ahmad, *Tabakat-i Akbari*; E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 240.)

Among the contemporary estimates of Humayun, that of his uncle Mirza Haidar will be always considered the most valuable for its intimacy as well as truthfulness. For, 'No one of my brothers or Sultans of the time, who had been in the Emperor's service,' he writes, 'had ever been honoured in such a way as I, Muhammad Haidar Kurkan, was, who being the approved friend of such a Prince as the Emperor, was not only called "brother" but was chosen as "*dast*".

'Humayun Padshah was the eldest, greatest and most renowned of Babur's sons. I have seen few persons possessed of so much natural talent and excellence as he; but in consequence of frequent intercourse with the sensual and profligate men who served him, he had contracted some bad habits; among these was his addiction to opium. All the evils that have been set down to the Emperor, and become the common talk of the people, are attributable to this vice. Nevertheless he was endowed with excellent qualities, being brave in battle, gay in feast, and very generous. In short, he was a dignified stately sovereign, who observed much state and pomp. When I entered his service at Agra, it was after his defeats, and people said that, compared with what had been, there was nothing left of his pomp and magnificence. Yet, when his

army was arrayed for the Ganges campaign (in which the whole direction devolved on me), there were still 17,000 menials in his retinue, from which circumstance an estimate may be formed of the rest of his establishment.' (Lane-Poole, *Med. India from Contem. Sources*, p. 50.)

Ferishta says, 'Humayun was of elegant stature, and of a bronze complexion. The mildness and benevolence of Humayun's character were excessive, if there can be excess in such noble qualities. He was a prince of great intrepidity, and possessed the virtues of charity and munificence in a very high degree. He was skilled in the science of geography, and delighted in the company of learned men. He was regular in his devotions and ablutions and never pronounced the name of God without having performed the latter ceremony.' (Briggs, II, p. 178.) "Humayun was a prince as remarkable for his wit as for the urbanity of his manners; and for the most part, disposed to spend his time in social intercourse and pleasure. He devoted himself, however, to the sciences of astronomy and geography; and not only wrote dissertations on the nature of the elements, but had terrestrial and celestial globes constructed for his use." (Ibid., pp. 70-71)

Some Modern Estimates.

Like Babur his education and tastes were entirely Persian, .. but while Timur and Babur were strong individualists and men of action, never allowing themselves to be turned from any set purpose, either from the preaching of a *mulla* or the prognostications of a sooth-sayer, Humayun was but a weak dilettante who sought the advice of the court astrologers in all state affairs.[1]... In spite of these precau-

1. 'He caused seven halls of audience to be built, in which he received persons according to their rank. The first called the *Palace of the Moon*, was set apart for ambassadors, messengers and travellers. In the second, called the *Palace of Venus*, civil officers and persons of that description, were received; and there were five other palaces for the remaining five planets. In each of these buildings he gave public audience, according to the planet of the day. The furniture and paintings of each, as also the dresses of the house-hold attendants, bore some symbol emblematic of the planet. In each of these palaces he transacted business for one day in the week.'—Ferishta; Briggs, II, p. 71.

tions the stars in their courses fought against Humayun... His shallowness and defects of character were covered by the saving grace of cheerfulness. Like most of the great Mughals, he was for his intimate friends a prince of good fellows. He was never wanting in personal courage, but the restoration of the Mughal dynasty was more due to the steadfast loyalty of his comrades and to the weakness of Sher Shah's descendants, than to his own military capacity. The contrast between Sher Shah and Humayun could not be better illustrated than it is in the two great monuments which perpetuate their memory. Humayun's mausoleum at Delhi portrays in its polished elegance the facile *chermeur* and rather superficial dilettante of the Persian school, whose best title to fame is that he was the father of Akbar; Sher Shah's at Sahseram, the stern strong man, egotist and empire-builder who trampled all his enemies under foot, and ruled Hindustan with a rod of iron.' (E. B. Havell, *Aryan Rule in India*, pp. 428-9, 448-9)

"Though not deficient in intelligence, he had little energy; and though free from vices and violent passions, he was no less devoid of principles and affections. By nature he was more inclined to ease than ambition; yet as he had been brought up under Babur, and accustomed to bodily and mental exertion, he never was wanting to the exigencies of his situation, or quite lost the advantages of his birth and pretentions, though he never turned them to the best account...He was not naturally either cunning or cruel; and if he had been a limited monarch in Europe, he would most likely not have been more treacherous or bloody than Charles II." (Elphinstone, *History of India*, pp. 451, 471)

"His character attracts but never dominates. In private life he might have been a delightful companion and a staunch friend; his virtues were Christian, and his whole life was that of a gentleman. But as a king he was a failure. His name means 'fortunate', and never was an unlucky sovereign more miscalled...His end was of a piece with his character. If there was a possibility of falling, Humayun

was not the man to miss it. He tumbled through life, and he tumbled out of it." (Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, pp. 219, 237)

Humayun, although a cultivated gentleman, not lacking in ability, was deficient in the energetic promptitude of his versatile father. His addiction to opium probably explains his failures to a considerable extent." (Smith, *Oxford History of India*, pp. 325-6)

"Brave, genial, witty, a charming companion, highly educated, generous, and merciful, Humayun was even less qualified than his father to found a dynasty on principles which should endure. Allied to his many virtues were many compromising defects. He was volatile, thoughtless, and unsteady. He was swayed by no strong sense of duty. His generosity was apt to degenerate into prodigality; his attachments into weakness. He was unable to concentrate his energies for a time in any serious direction, whilst for comprehensive legislation he had neither the genius nor the inclination. He was thus eminently unfitted to consolidate the conquest his father had bequeathed to him."–(Malleson, *Akbar* p. 50)

"The real character of Humayun may be better gleaned from the events of his reign than from the representations of his historians.... He was a man of great quickness of parts, but volatile, thoughtless and unsteady. Personally of distinguished bravery, he was occasionally successful in war, without possessing the higher talents of a general. In the earlier part of his reign, seconded by the veteran officers and well-trained army which his father had left him, he over-ran, first the kingdoms of Malwa and Gujarat, and next those of Bihar and Bengal, very important and glorious acquisitions; but destitute of those powers of combination which are necessary for consolidating and retaining a conquest, as bravery and a well-disciplined army are for making it, he was compelled to abandon them all; and the greater part of his reign presented a series of reverses, rebellions, and anarchy,—the fruit of his lack of political firmness and determination.

"His dispositon was naturally generous, friendly and affectionate; his manners polite, frank, and winning. He seems to have been considerate to his servants, and popular in his intercourse with the lower classes......but down to the day of his death he was the prey of his flatterers and favourites. From his father he inherited the fondness for literature and the arts, and he delighted in the society of literary and scientific men. He was not only an admirer of poetry, but himself a writer of verses. He is also said to have made considerable progress in mathematics and astronomy. He liberally patronised such as were eminent in these sciences, and promoted several of them to offices of trust. At the time of his death, he was about to construct an observatory, and had collected the necessary instruments for that purpose. A floating palace, several stories in height, with a garden and a *bazar* or market, which he constructed at Agra, on ships linked together and connected by platforms, and floated down the Jumna, has been celebrated; this and several other of his contrivances evinced his fondness for the mechanical arts......But though Humayun was brave and good-tempered, liberal and fond of learning, his virtues all bordered on neighbouring defects, and produced little fruit. There seems to have been a frivolity in his mind that neutralised his good qualities; and a fatality seemed to attend on his merits.—(Erskine, *History of India*, II, pp. 530-31, 534-35)

HUMAYUN'S PLAN FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EMPIRE

'From the time when Humayun arrived in Delhi, he devoted himself to a general superintendence of the affairs of his kingdom, and to watching the progress of his armies which he had sent in various directions to reduce different provinces. He saw clearly that there were great defects in the system of government of the Empire, and set himself to devising means of improving it. The plan which he projected was to separate the Empire into several great divisions, each of them to have a local capital, and a board of administration for directing local

affairs. Delhi, Agra, Kanauj, Jaunpur, Mandu, and Lahore were among the capitals fixed upon. To each of them was to be assigned a considerable military force, under an able general, so as to render it independent of assistance from the others; while the Emperor was to give unity to the whole, by visiting them in turn with an army of about 12,000 horse, which were to be under his own immediate command, and at all times ready to move in any direction. This plan, however, he never had time, had he even possessed sufficient steadiness, to carry into execution."—(Erskine, op. cit., II, pp. 526-27)

The dilettante character of Humayun's regime is perhaps best illustrated in the following extracts from the writings of Khwandamir who died in Humayun's service during the Gujarat campaign :—

Classification of the people.

'When the auspicious throne was filled by this dignified and brave monarch, all the officers of the State and inhabitants of the kingdom were divided into *three classes*. The brothers and relations of the King, the nobles and ministers, as well as the military men were called *Ahl-i Daulat* (Officers of the State), because it is evident that according to the words, "There can be no dominion without men", no degree of wealth and prosperity can be attained without the assistance of this class of brave and courageous people; and no one can obtain the throne and power without the aid of warriors and heroes.

'Kings with the assitance of their army,
Place their feet upon the throne of empires.
He alone can obtain wealth and rank
Who is assisted by his army.'

'The holy persons, the great *mushaikhs* (religious men), the respectable *saiyids*, the literati, the law-officers, the scientific persons, poets, besides other great and respectable men, formed the *second class*, and were denominated *Ahl-i Sa'adat* (good men), because, to observe honour and regard these people, and to associate with such men, secures eternal

prosperity, and enables men to rise to high dignities and ranks.

'Virtue is the gift of God:
It is not in the power of the mighty man to obtain it;
If you wish to obtain fortune,
You must associate with virtuous men.'

'Those who possessed beauty and elegance, those who were young and most lovely, and also clever musicians, and sweet singers, composed the *third class*, and the appellation of *Ahl-i Murad* (people of pleasure) was conferred on them, because most people take delight in the company of such young-looking men, of rosy cheeks and sweet voices, and are pleased by hearing their songs, and the pleasing sounds of the musical instruments, such as the harp, the sackbut and the lute.

'The hope of the heart of lovers
Is never realised but when they meet persons whose cheeks are rosy.
He who is fond of hearing songs and music
Has the gates of happiness opened for himself.'

Gradations of Rank.

'The ranks of all the people composing the three classes were divided into *twelve orders* or arrows, and every one received a grade and rank suitable to himself. Arrows of different standards of gold were distributed, by means of which the distinction of ranks and stations among servants of the throne was marked. The twelfth arrow, which was made of the purest gold, was put in the auspicious quiver of the King and nobody could dare to touch it. The eleventh arrow belonged to His Majesty's relations and brethren, and all the Sultans who were in the Government employ. Tenth, to the great *mushaikhs*, *saiyids*, and the learned and religious men. Ninth, to the great nobles. Eighth, to the courtiers and some of the King's personal attendants. Seventh, to the attendants in general. Sixth, to the *harems* and to the well-behaved female attendants. Fifth, to young maid-servants. Fourth, to the treasurers and stewards. Third, to the soldiers.

Second, to the menial servants. First, to the palace guards, camel-drivers, and the like. Each of these arrows or orders had three grades: the highest, the middle, and the lowest.

'Another of the arrangements of this King was, that he divided all the affairs of Government into *four Departments*, after the number of the four elements, viz., *Atashi*, *Hawai*, *Abi*, and *Khaki*; and for the conduct of the business of these Departments he appointed four ministers. The Department to which belonged the artillery and the making of arms, weapons of war, and various sorts of engines and other such things in which assistance was taken of fire, was called *Atashi*; and the superintendence of this Department was placed under Khwaja Amidu-l Mulk, and the fire of his care inflamed the ovens of the hearts of those who were employed on those works. The duties connected with the ward-robe, kitchen, stable, and other great and important offices belonged to the *Hawai* Department, and the care of them was entrusted to Khwaja Lutf-ulla. The *Sharbat-khana*, *Suji-khana*, the digging of canals, and all the works which related to water and rivers, were comprised in the *Abi* Department, and its superintendent was Khwaja Hasan. Agriculture, erection of buildings, resumption of *Khalisa* lands, and some household affairs formed a Department which was called *Khaki*, and this was placed under the management of Khwaja Jalau-d din Mirza Beg. The supervision of all the four Departments was entrusted to the best of nobles, the most learned man, Amir Wais Muhammad.

Government Departments.

'According to this classification, the wise King also divided the days of the week, and appointed one day to each of the three classes. Thus, Saturdays and Thursdays were fixed for pious men, and visits were received on these days from literary and religious persons. On these two days the tree of hope of this estimable body of the people produced the fruit of prosperity by their obtaining audience in the paradise-resembling Court. The reason why these two

Apportionment of time.

days were appointed for this class was that Saturday is ascribed to Saturn, who is the protector of good and religious men and persons of old respectable families; and Thursday is appropriated to Jupiter, who is the preserver of the *saiyids*, the learned men, and the strict followers of the Muhammadan law. Sundays and Tuesdays were fixed for the State officers; and all the Government business and duties connected with the management of the country were discharged on these days. The King, destroyer of enemies, sat in the public Court, and consequently all the nobles and plebiens were able to obtain the honour of seeing him. The advantage in appointing these two days for opening the Court, and attending to the State affairs was, that Sunday belongs to the Sun, to whom according to the will of God, is attached the fates of all rulers and kings; and Tuesday is the day of Mars, who is the patron of warriors and brave men. Hence, it is evident that to adorn the throne of sovereignty in the public Court-Hall by his royal sessions on these two days, and to devote himself to the discharge of the government duties, was very proper.

'Amongst the other customs which were introduced by this just and generous King and were observed on the days of the sessions, one was, that when he adorned the throne of sovereignty by sitting on it, drums were beaten, to inform the people, who, immediately on hearing of their noise, came to see him; and when he left the Court, the gunners fired guns to let the people know that they might retire. Also on those days the keeper of the ward-robe used to bring some suits of fine apparel, and the treasurer some purses of money, and they placed them in the Court, in order that rewards and robes might be given to any one from them, and no delay should take place. And also that several people who resembled Bahram, having put on coats of mail, and taken blood-drinking swords in their hands, stood before the throne to seize and punish those who might be proved guilty. Mondays and Wednesdays were allotted for pleasure parties, and on these days, some of the old companions and chosen friends were convened, and a band of musicians and singers was

called, and they were all satisfied in their wishes. The cause of appointing these days for this purpose was, that Monday is the day of the Moon, and Wednesday of Mercury ; and it was therefore reasonable that on these days he should keep company with young men beautiful as the Moon, and hear sweet songs and delightful music. On Fridays, as the name *juma* indicates, he called together all the assemblies, and sat with them as long as he found leisure from his other duties.'

(*Humayun-Nama*, E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 119-24)

AUTHORITIES[1]

AFGHAN

A. PRIMARY: (1) *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, also called *Tuhfat-i Akbar Shahi*, by Abbas Khan Sarwani, written by order of Akbar. The author himself says that he was connected by marriage with the family of Sher Shah, and "so had peculiar sources of information as to the life and character of that adventurous and successful chief, whose craft and valour won a crown." Dowson, however, says, "It is a biography, not a history," though he admits, "this work has fortunately preserved the means of forming a judgment of his (Sher Shah's) character and talents." Extracts in E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 305-433. Later writers like Nizamu-d din and Badauni drew largely from Sarwani.

2. *Makhzan-i-Afghana* of Niamat-u-llah (see Dorn's *History of the Afghans*, Bk. II, pp. 80–142, pub. 1829). "Therein alone," says Qanungo, "has been preserved a faithful summary of Abbas Sarwani's work, with the exception of its concluding chapter." (*Sher Shah*, p. 434). See E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 70.

3. *Tarikh-i Daudi* of Abdu-llah, written in the reign of Jahangir. Extracts in ibid., IV, pp. 434–513. "Abdullah," says Qanungo, "has in many cases borrowed the very words of Nizamuddin. Here and there he gives valuable pieces of information." (*Sher Shah*, p. 435). It is interesting to note that this medieval chronicler wrote: '*History is not simply information regarding the affairs of kings who have passed away; but it is a science which expands the intellect, and furnishes the wise with examples.*" (E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 434).

1. Prof. Qanungo divides the contemporary writers into (1) Afghan and (2) Non-Afghan, and points out: "This division is important because the former, owing to national sympathy and natural bias, are supposed to be friendly and even eulogistic to Sher Shah, while the latter are either hostile, indifferent or neutral according to the circumstances under which their works were composed.'—*Sher Shah*, p. 427.

NON-AFGHAN

4. Works like the *Memoirs of Babur, Tarikh-i Rashidi, Humayun-nama, Tazkirat-ul-Wakiat*, etc., cited already as authorities for Babur and Humayum are also valuable supplementary sources for this period and *vice versa*.

5. *Tabakat-i Akbari* of Nizamu-d din Ahmad (see Authorities for next chapter) is valuable as the testimony of Nizamu-d din in favour of Sher Shah has greater weight than that of Abbas Sarwani. (Qanungo, op. cit., p. 442).

6. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* of Abdul Qadir Badauni. "He often writes from personal knowledge and his account of the Sur dynasty, especially of the reign of Islam Shah, is of great importance. There is a freshness and originality in his work which we miss elsewhere." (Ibid., p. 443).

7. *Akbar-Namah* of Abu-l Fazl "paints Sher Shah and Islam Shah in the same colour as the Court historians of Aurangzeb, two centuries afterwards, painted the great Maratha hero Shivaji and his son." Nevertheless, where he praises Sher Shah's administrative ability, as he undoubtedly does, he "is certainly more valuable than the most fulsome eulogy of Abbas." (Ibid., p. 444). The *Ain-i Akbari* by the same writer has some valuable references to Sher Shah's land settlement and revenue system. "Ains V, VI, and VII, in which minute instructions are given to the revenue officials, are based on the regulations (*qanun*) of Sher Shah and Islam Shah." (Ibid., pp. 444–45).

8. *Tarikh-i Ferishta* has practically nothing new to say. "The tradition of the descent of the Surs from the royal house of Ghor, which is perhaps his only original contribution, is baseless." (Ibid., p. 445).

EUROPEAN WRITERS

9. "The Portuguese under Martin Affonso De Mello first landed at Chittagong in 1533 A. D. The Portuguese Captain visited Gaur in that year when war broke out between

Mahmud Shah and Sher Khan. In this war the Portuguese rendered great help to Mahmud Shah. The Portuguese historians Castenheda and others have left good accounts of the war between Mahmud Shah and Sher Khan and of the struggle of Humayun with Sher Khan. This important source of Indian history has not yet been utilized." (Ibid., p. 447).

B. SECONDARY: 1. *Sher Shah* by Prof. Kalikaranjan Qanungo. Kar, Majumdar & Co., Calcutta 1921. He calls Sher Shah "the greatest administrative and military genius among the Afghans."

2. Erskine's *History of India*, vol. II (Humayun) already noticed, is according to Prof. Qanungo, within a small compass "a masterly sketch of the career of Sher Shah. His estimate of the administrative genius of Sher Shah (pp. 441–444) deserves credit."

3. Elphinstone's *History of India* removes several persistent errors of Persian historians.

GENEALOGY*

- Hussein Khan Sur
  - (1) SHER SHAH
    - Adil Khan
      - (5) SIKANDAR SHAH
    - (2) SALIM SHAH
      - (3) FIROZE SHAH
    - *Daughter* = (4) MAHOMED SHAH ADALI
  - Nizam Khan
    - (4) MAHOMED SHAH ADALI

* From Brigg's Ferishta, vol. II, p. 98 opp.

CHAPTER IV

THE SUR INTER-REGNUM

"This Afghan is not to be disconcerted by trifles: he may come to be a great man yet....Keep an eye on Sher Khan. He is a clever man, and the marks of royalty are visible on his forehead."—BABUR.

"Alas, that I should have attained power, only at the close of the day."—SHER SHAH.

"It was the rare good fortune of the house of Timur that they were able at last to regain their heritage of conquest, strengthened by the work of the Afghan Sher Shah, an administrator of marked originality, who, all unwittingly built for the Mughals that structure of administrative machinery which, while it was necessary for securing the triumph of the new ideal of kingship they represented, they had been entirely unable to construct for themselves."[1]

In this brief statement, Prof. Rushbrooke Williams has admirably summed up the place of the Sur Inter-regnum in the history of the Mughal Empire. Moreover, as the events of Humayun's first reign were inextricably connected with the fortunes of Sher Shah, his restoration and recovery of the Empire were bound up with the misfortunes of Sher Shah's descendants. The sad contrast between Babur's brilliance and Humayun's political incapacity also finds a sharp echo in the Afghan episode; both pointing to the same moral for us, viz., the fatal incapacity of monarchical, like other, genius to transmit itself.

1. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 162.

We have already followed a substantial part of Sher Shah's career, in his triumphant duel with Humayun. Here must be attempted a more comprehensive study of his life and character.

A. EARLY LIFE

1. Ancestry.

'Sher Shah was born in the reign of Sultan Bahlol (1450-88), and they named him Farid' writes Abbas Sarwani in his *Tarikh-i Sher Shahi*.[1]

It was in the 'City of Victory' Hissar-Firoza (Delhi District) founded by Firoz Shah Tughlak. The year, according to Qanungo, may have been 1486 A. D.[2]

'The grandfather of Sher Shah, by name Ibrahim Khan Sur, with his son Hasan Khan, the father of Sher Shah, came to Hindustan from Afghanistan[3] ... They settled in the *pargana* of Bajwara.' Later, Jamal Khan Sarangkhani of Hissar–Firoza bestowed on Ibrahim 'several villages in *pargana* Narnaul for the maintenance of forty horsemen.' Hasan Khan entered the service of Umar Khan, *Khan-i-azam*, who was 'counsellor and courtier of Sultan Bahlol.' Umar Khan gave 'serveral villages in the *pargana* of Shahabad as a *jagir* to Hasan Khan.' After Ibrahim's death Hasan Khan also received his father's *jagir* 'with several villages in addition to it.'

1. Abbas Khan, at the commencement of his work, states, 'I derive my information from trustworthy Afghans, skilled in the science of history and rhetoric, who accompanied the King from the beginning of his fortunes to the end of his reign, and were employed in his confidential service. I have written also what I have well ascertained from others. Whatever was opposed to the information thus acquired, and could not stand the touch-stone of truth, I have rejected.'—(E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 305)

2. Qanungo, op. cit., p. 3.

3. 'From a place which is called in the Afghan tongue "Shar ghari," but in the Multan tongue "Rohris." It is a ridge, a spur of the Suleiman Mountains, about 6 or 7 *kos* in length, situated on the banks of the Gumal.'—(E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 308).

When Jamal Khan was sent to the *subah* of Jaunpur by Sikandar Lodi (who had succeeded Bahlol), he took with him Sher Shah's father, being 'much pleased with Hasan Khan's good service,' and 'gave him in *jagir* the *parganas* of Sasaram, Hajipur, and Tanda, near Benares, to maintain 500 horse.'

2. Boyhood's Promise, 1501.

'Hasan Khan had eight sons. Farid Khan and Nizam Khan were born of one Afghan mother;' the rest were born of slave-girls. 'Angry words often passed between Hasan and Farid.' The latter, 'annoyed with his father, went to Jamal Khan at Jaunpur,' where he 'employed himself studying Arabic and the biographies of most of the kings of ancient times. He had got by heart the *Sikandar-Nama*, the *Gulistan*, and *Bostan*, etc., and was also reading the works of the philosophers.' Subsequently, whenever, during his reign, learned men came to ask for a maintenance (*madad ma'ash*), he used to ask them about the *Hashia-i-Hindia*, and he still retained his liking for books of history and the lives of ancient kings.

'It happened after some years,[1] that Hasan Khan came to Jamal Khan when all his kinsmen in Jaunpur reproached him for having sent Farid away; and they remarked that *Farid Khan, young as he was, gave promise of future greatness*; that he bore the marks of excellence on his forehead, and that in all the tribe of Sur there was none who possessed learning, talent, wisdom, and prudence like him; and he had qualified himself so well, that if Hasan Khan would entrust him with the charge of a *pargana*, he could discharge it excellently well, and perfectly perform all his duties.'

3. Young Jagirdar, 1511.

When father and son were reconciled, Farid was given charge of the two *parganas* of Sasaram and Khawaspur (in the present District of Shahabad).[2] Even so early as this (1511),

1. Farid lived at Jaunpur up to his twenty-fifth year, from 1501 to 1511. (Quanungo, op. cit., p. 8.)

2. It was a frontier march on the southern side of Bihar. To the south lay the outskirts of the Rohtas hills, then inhabited by non-Aryan

the future Sher Shah gave unmistakable evidence of his executive abilities and genius.

"*I shall devote myself to increase the prosperity of the district*," he said to his father, "*and that depends on a just administration*."

Abbas Khan further tells us, 'when he got to his *jagirs*, he said :—" Let all the headmen (*muqaddaman*) and the cultivators (*muzzarian*) on whose labour the prosperity of the district depends, and all the village accountants (*patwaris*) attend my presence." When they came, he summoned also the soldiery, and thus addressed them :—

"My father (*abu*) has committed to me the power of appointing and dismissing you. I have set my heart on improving the prosperity of the district, in which object also your own interests are concerned; and by this means I hope to establish my reputation."

'When he had finished exhorting the soldiery, he turned to the peasantry and said :— "This day I give you your choice as to your mode of payment. Do whatever is most advantageous to your own interests in every possible way."

'Some of the headmen asked for written agreements for a fixed money rent; others preferred payment in kind (*kismat-i ghalla*). Accordingly he gave leases and took agreements, and fixed the payments for measuring the fields (*Jaribana*), and the fees for the tax-collectors and measurers (*muhassilana*); and he said to the *chaudharis* and headmen :— "*I know well that the cultivation depends on the humble peasants; for if they be ill off they will produce nothing, but if prosperous they will produce much.* I know the oppressions and exactions of which you have been guilty towards the cultivators; and for this reason I have fixed the payments for measurements and the tax-gatherers' fees,—that if you exact from the cultivators more on this account than is fixed, it

semi-independent peoples. Further south were the possessions of the independent Hindu Raja of Rohtas; on the east was the Son river. To the west was the *pargana* of Chaund, which belonged to Muhammad Khan Sur, the future enemy of Farid. (Ibid., pp. 11-12.)

may not be credited to you in making up your accounts. Be it known to you, that I will take the accounts of the fees in my own presence. Whatever dues are rightly taken I will sanction, and compel the cultivators to pay them; and I will also collect the Government dues for the autumn harvest in the autumn, and for the spring harvest in the spring; for balances of Government dues are the ruin of a *pargana*, and the cause of quarrels between the cultivators and the Government officers. *It is right for a ruler to show leniency to the cultivators at the time of measurement, and to have a regard for the actual produce; but when the time of payment comes he should show no leniency, but collect the revenue with all strictness.* If he perceives the cultivators are evading payment, he should so chastise them as to be an example to others not to act in the same way."

'He then said to the peasantry, "Whatever matter you have to represent, bring it always yourselves to me. *I will suffer no one to oppress you.*" Having thus addressed them he dismissed them with honorary dresses, to carry on their cultivation.

'After dismissing the cultivators, he said to his father's officers, "The *cultivators are the source of prosperity.* I have encouraged them and sent them away, *and shall always watch over their conditions, that no man may oppress and injure them: for if a ruler cannot protect the humble peasantry from the lawless, it is tyranny to exact revenue from them.* There are certain *zamindars* who have been behaving contumaciously in these *parganas,* who have not presented themselves at the governor's court (*makhama-i-hakim*), do not pay their full revenue, and harass the villagers in their neighbourhood—how shall I overcome and destroy them?" They replied, "Most of the troops are with Mian Hasan; wait a few days and they will return." Farid said, "I cannot have patience while they refuse to come to me, and continue to oppress and injure the people of God; do you consider what I can contrive against these rebels, and how I may chastise them."

'He ordered his father's nobles to saddle 200 horses, and to see how many soldiers there were in the *pargana*, and he sent for all the Afghans and men of his tribe who were without *jagirs*, and said to them, "I will give you subsistence and clothing till Mian Hasan returns. Whatever goods and money you may get from the plunder of these rebels is yours, nor will I ever require it of you; and whoever among you may distinguish himself, for him I will procure a good *jagir* from Mian Hasan. I will myself give you horses to ride on." When they had heard this they were much pleased, and said they would not fail in doing their duty under his auspices. He put the men who had engaged to serve him in good humour by all sorts of favours, and by gifts of clothes, etc., and presented them also with a little money. . .

'Early in the morning, Farid Khan mounted and attacked the criminal *zamindars*, and put all the rebels to death, and making all their women and children prisoners, ordered his men to sell them as slaves; and brought other people to the village and settled them there. When the other rebels heard of the death, imprisonment, and ruin of these, they listened to wisdom, repented of their contumacy, and abstained from theft and robbery.

'If any soldier or peasant had a complaint, Farid would examine it in person, and carefully investigate the cause, nor did he ever give way to carelessness or sloth.

'In a very short time, both *parganas* became prosperous, and the soldiery and peasantry were alike contented. When Mian Hasan heard of this he was much pleased; and in all companies used to make mention of the prosperity of his *parganas*, the gallantry of his son, and the subjection of the *zamindars*.'

4. Farid becomes 'Sher Khan,' 1519-26.

In spite of all this, however, Farid once again lost favour with his whimsical father, and for a time sought refuge at the court of Ibrahim Lodi at Agra, under the patronage of Daulat Khan. When that prince died on the gory field

of Paṇipat (April, 1526), the young adventurer went to Bahar Khan, son of Darya Khan, who had assumed the title of Sultan Muhammad.[1] 'Employing himself day and night in his business, Farid gained Bahar Khan's favour, and became one of his most intimate friends. In consequence of his excellent arrangements, he became celebrated throughout the country of Bihar.'

One day he went out hunting with Bahar Khan, and a tiger (*sher*) having been started, Farid Khan slew it. On account of this gallant encounter Bahar Khan gave him the title of "Sher Khan the Tiger Chief."

5. Sher Khan and the Mughals, 1527-28.

Sher Khan after this, getting help from Sultan Junaid Barlas, the Governor of Jaunpur, sought preferment under Babur at Agra.[2] There being admitted to the court, he remained for some time among the Mughals,[2] was present at the siege of Chanderi, and 'acquainted himself with their military arrangements, their modes of governing, and the character of their nobles.' "*If luck aided me*," he is reported to have said among the Afghans, "*and fortune stood my friend, I could easily oust the Mughals from Hindustan.*" The Emperor Babur, with his keen insight into human character, observed to Khalifa, his minister, "Keep an eye on Sher Khan, he is a clever man, and the marks of royalty are visible on his forehead. I have seen many Afghan nobles, greater men than he, but they never made any impression on me; but as soon as I saw this man, it entered into my mind that he ought to be arrested, for I find in him the qualities of greatness and marks of mightiness."

1. According to Qanungo, Farid governed his paternal estates for 7 or 8 years, from 1511 to 1518 or 1519. He went to Bahar Khan about 1522. (*Sher Shah*, pp. 24, 31-32).

2. "Just after the battle of Panipat the ambitious Afghan chiefs unsuccessful at home against rivals of their own race, resorted to Babur in the hope of overcoming their domestic enemies with the help of the Mughals and gaining high positions for themselves." (Ibid., p. 34.)

B. CONQUEST OF EMPIRE

1. The First Step, 1529.

Sher Khan was too circumspect a man to miss the significance of this observation. So he quitted Babur's camp at the earliest opportunity.[1] "I have no longer any confidence in the Mughals, nor they in me," he declared, "I must go to Sultan Muhammad Khan."[2] When Sultan Muhammad died, Sher Khan became the Deputy to his son Jalal Khan, in the Government of Bihar and its dependencies, about October 1529.

The following year 1530, Sher Khan *captured the important fortress of Chunar. This may be considerd the starting point of his career of aggression.* The manner in which he came by it is thus described by Abbas Sarwani[3] :—

'Sultan Ibrahim Lodi had entrusted the fort of Chunar to Taj Khan Sarang Khani, and the royal treasures were deposited in the fort. Now this Taj Khan was altogether a slave to his love for his wife Lad Malika, who was a woman of great sagacity and wisdom. One night, Taj Khan's eldest son (by another wife) wounded Lad Malika with a sabre, but not severely. Her servants complained to Taj Khan, who drew his sword, and ran out to kill his son. He, perceiving that his father was about to kill him for the sake of his wife, struck his father with his sabre, and escaped out of the house. Taj Khan died of the wound.'

Sher Khan, after this incident, cleverly ingratiated himself with Lad Malika and married her.[4] By this means he not

1. He was there at most for 15 months, from April 1527 to June 1528, when he got back his *parganas* as a result of Babur's eastern campaign of 934 A. H. (Ibid., pp. 44, 52-3.)

2. Qanungo says, "Sher Khan joined not Sultan Muhammad Lohani (as Abbas Sarwani, Nizamuddin, Ferishta, etc., say), but Sultan Mahmud Lodi." (Ibid., pp. 58-9.)

3. 'I, the author of this history of Sher Khan, Abbas Khan Bin Sheikh Ali Sarwani, have heard from my kindred and connexions who were great nobles and companions of Sher Khan, that he got possession of the fort of Chunar in the following manner.' For fuller details of the incident see E. & D., op., cit., IV, pp. 343-46.

4. "The whole story," says Qanungo, "is unskilfully got up with

only got possession of the fort, but 'she gave him a present consisting of 150 of the exceedingly valuable jewels, and 7 *mans* of pearls, and 150 *mans* of gold, and many other articles and ornaments.'

Subsequent to this, Sher Khan also got into his power and possession the *parganas* near the fort of Chunar; and further strengthened his resources by inheriting 60 *mans* of gold from Guhar Husain, the widow of Nasir Khan.

2. First Encounter with Humayun—1531.

When Humayun had overcome Sultan Mahmud Lodi, and put the greater number of his followers to death, at the battle of Dauroh, he sent Hindu Beg to take Chunar from Sher Khan, but the latter refused to give it up. Jauhar says, 'When the victorious army of the Mughals reached Chunar, Jalal Khan, son of Sher Khan, and several other nobles were within the fortress; the fortress was besieged for four months. When Sher Khan saw that the fort would fall today or tomorrow, he made his submission and sent his own son, Kutb Khan, to the presence of His Majesty (Humayun) and secured peace.'[1] Thus he put off Humayun for the time being with clever but insincere professions of loyalty. Humayun withdrew and turned towards Gujarat, with a false sense of security in the eastern provinces.

"Never were the eastern provinces rendered so submissive to the throne of Delhi after the death of Sultan Sikandar (1517) as now," writes Qanungo. "The indomitable Afghan leaders, Baban and Bayazid, were killed; the country on the northern bank of the Ganges from the Gumti to the Gandak (boundary of the kingdom of Bengal) was as tranquil as ever. On the southern bank of the Ganges the pretensions of Sher Khan were subdued, and he was forced to yield obedience and send his son to the imperial service. But the serpent was scotched, not killed; and this foreboded future trouble. When Humayun was reposing in the bed of fancied

the object of convincing us that Sher Khan obtained Chunar by legitimate means, from its virtual mistress Lad Malika." (*Sher Shah*, p. 71)

1. Ibid., pp. 76-7.

security, it recovered from the shock and gathered fresh strength. The seed of lifelong enmity was sown between the two men."[1]

3. Bihar and Bengal.

To resume Abbas Khan's narrative, 'Sher Khan took advantage of this opportunity, and did not leave one enemy of his remaining throughout the kingdom of Bihar. He also began to patronise all Afghans. Many of them who had assumed the garb of religious mendicants on account of their misfortunes, he relieved and enlisted as soldiers; and some who refused to enlist, and preferred a life of mendicancy, he put to death, and declared *he would kill every Afghan who refused to be a soldier.* He was also very careful of his Afghans in action, that their lives might not be uselessly sacrificed. When the Afghans heard that Sher Khan was eagerly desirous of patronising their race, they entered into his service from all directions.

'Sultan Bahadur (of Gujarat) being defeated by Humayun, went towards Surat, and the whole of Afghans who were in his service, whether chiefs or common soldiers, came to Sher Khan.[2]

'When Nasir Khan (Nusrat Shah) ruler of Bengal died, the nobles of Bengal made Sultan Mahmud his successor;[3] but he was not able to manage the kingdom, and it fell into disorder. Mahmud Shah, nevertheless, conceived the design of conquering Bihar from the Afghans, and accordingly despatched Kutb Khan with a large force for that purpose. Sher Khan earnestly and repeatedly remonstrated; but Kutb Khan gave no heed to his remonstrances. Sher Khan conse-

1. Qanungo, op. cit., p. 78.

2. "When the sun of Bahadur Shah's fortune sank down in the Arabian Sea, that of Sher Khan arose almost simultaneously out of the Bay of Bengal, and shone resplendently in the eastern horizon."—Ibid., p. 128.

3. This is a remarkable confirmation of Babur's observation regarding the tradition in Bengal (see E. & D., op. cit, IV, pp. 260-61). Nusrat Shah died about December 1532, and was immediately succeeded by his son, Alau-d din Firoz Shah, who was murdered by Mahmud Shah soon after, in May 1533.—Qanungo, loc. cit., p. 83.

quently told his Afghans, "With the Mughals on one side, and the army of Bengal on the other, we have no recourse save in our own bravery." The Afghans replied, "Be of good cheer, for we will fight to the utmost; we will never yield the field until we either conquer or die."

'Sher Khan having prepared for a sturdy resistance, met the enemy. A severe action ensued in which the Bengal army was defeated...Of the treasure, horses, elephants, etc., which fell into his hands, Sher Khan did not give any part to the Lohanis,[1] and so he became a man of wealth. This kindled the jealousy of the Lohanis, who thereafter became the enemies of Sher Khan. They tried to bring about his fall in several ways, not excluding murder. When they were foiled in their attempts, they won over Jalal Khan (Sher Khan's nominal sovereign) to their side, and even intrigued with their enemy the King of Bengal.

'As soon as Sher Khan heard that Jalal Khan had gone over to the King of Bengal, he was much pleased, and said: "Now the kingdom of Bihar had fallen into my hands. I felt certain that the army of the King of Bengal would assuredly come to attempt the conquest of Bihar, and as enmity existed between the Lohanis and myself, I feared lest the enemy should be victorious, for *the surest means of defeat are divisions in your own army*. Now that the Lohanis are gone to Bengal, there are no quarrels in my army; and if there be no divisions among the Afghans, how can the Bengal army compare with them in the day of battle? Even the Mughals cannot equal them. Please God, when I have dispersed the Bengal army, you will soon see, if I survive, how I will expel the Mughals from Hindustan."

Events showed that these calculations of Sher Khan were not wrong. 'After this Sher Khan began to strengthen himself, and enlist more men. Wherever there were any Afghans

1. The Lohanis as a tribe were the rivals of the Surs. Sher Khan himself stated: "The Lohanis are a much stronger and more powerful tribe than the Surs; and the custom of the Afghan is, that if any man has four kinsmen more than another, he thinks little of killing or dishonouring his neighbour."— E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 335.

he sent for them, and gave them any money they asked. Having collected a very large force, and made every preparation, and having gained the goodwill of his army, he placed the country of Bihar in his rear, and proceeded against the King of Bengal, "*This campaign,*" says Qanungo, "*was destined to end in one of the most decisive battles of the medieval history of India. It was a turning point in the career of Sher Shah.*"[1] The following account of the engagement is given by Abbas Khan :—

BATTLE OF SURAJGARH :[2] 1534

'When one watch of the night was yet remaining, Sher Khan arrayed his forces, and brought them out of their entrenchments; and after the morning prayers, he himself came out, and said to his chiefs, 'In the enemy's army there are many elephants and guns, and a great force of infantry; we must fight them in such a manner that they shall not be able to preserve their original order. The Bengal cavalry should be drawn away from their guns and infantry, and the horses intermingled with the elephants so that their array may be disordered. I have thought of a stratagem by which to defeat the Bengalis. I will draw up the greater part of my forces behind the cover of that height which we see, but will retain for the attack a small number of experienced and veteran horse. Now, they will fight exactly in the same manner as they did on the former occasion, without any expectation of defeat. I will bring up my selected division, who after discharging one flight of arrows on the Bengali army, shall retreat.

1. Qanungo, op. cit., p. 98.

2. The site of this battle was somewhere on the banks of the Kiul river, east of Bihar town. Abu-l Fazl says that Sher Khan fought the battle at *Surajgarh*, on the boundary between the territories of the ruler of Bengal, and won a victory. Hemmed in between the Ganges on the north and the Kharagpur hills on the south, the narrow plain of Surajgarh (about 5 miles in width) was indeed the most suitable place for making such a stand. Owing to its strategic situation, it has been the scene of many a decisive battle.—Ibid., pp. 99-100.

'The enemy is presumptuous on account of his superior force. He will think the Afghans are beginning to fly; and becoming eager he will leave his artillery and foot in the rear, and press on with all expedition himself, and disorder and confusion will find their way into his order of battle. I will then bring out my force which had been concealed behind the eminence, who will attack the enemy. The Bengali cavalry, deprived of the support of their artillery and infantry, are by themselves unable to cope with the Afghan horse. I hope by the favour of God that their force will be routed and put to flight."[1]

The result was just what Sher Khan had so shrewdly anticipated. "The whole of the treasure, elephants, and train of artillery fell into the hands of Sher Khan, who was thus supplied with munitions of war, and became master of the kingdom of Bihar, and much other territory besides. *Since God, the most holy and omnipotent, had preordained from all eternity to give the kingdom of Hind to Sher Khan, and that people of the Lord should live in ease and comfort under the shadow of his justice, and that he should be a zealous and just ruler, his wealth daily increased, and the whole country gradually came into his possession.*

In the beginning of May 1535, Sher Khan again turned upon Mahmud Shah, and began a war of conquest of his territories on the frontier of Bihar. "This came as a complete surprise to the incapable voluptuary who disgraced the throne of mighty rulers like Husain Shah and Nusrat Shah. Sher Khan's plan of campaign was one of slow, methodical conquest and annexation. His object was to wrest all the territories from Mahmud Shah on this side of Teliagarhi."[2] Mahmud Shah, like Ethelred the Unready, bought

1. *Cf.* William the Conqueror's tactics at the battle of Senlac.

2. Sher Shah was never scrupulous in the means he adopted to equip himself for the desired end of conquest, *e.g.*, he took from Bibi Fath Malika, the helpless widow of Bayazid's brother Mustafa, who had sought his refuge and protection, 300 *mans* of gold to equip his army, and gave her only two *parganas* for her support and some ready money for her immediate expenses. For details see E. & D., op. cit., IV,

him off for the time being with an indemnity of 13,00,000 gold pieces, even against the advice of his Portuguese allies. Encouraged by this, Sher Khan once more led a powerful army into Bengal in 1537. From the Portuguese historians we learn that Sher Khan sent his lieutenants to occupy outlying districts like Chittagong, while he himself invested Gaur, the capital of Bengal.

These activities of Sher Khan invited Humayun's attention towards him. Abu-l Fazl says, 'Meanwhile news came of the emergence of Sher Khan and of his commotions in the eastern provinces. . . . Orders were issued to make preparations for an expedition to Bengal. It was decided that Sher Khan should be put down and the territories of Bengal should be subdued.'[1]

4. Defeat of Humayun—1539-40.

We have already followed in the course of subsequent events. Sher Khan defeated Humayun at Chaunsa, in 1539, and assumed the title of Sher Shah; *at the battle of Bilgram, in 1540 Humayun was finally routed and expelled out of the Empire.* Here it is necessary to take note of only one incident belonging to this period, which, like the Fath Malika story, throws light upon the machiavellian character of Sher Shah. It is the manner in which he took possession of the great fort of Rohtas:

Sher Khan was in difficulties owing to the capture of Chunar by Humayun. 'There existed a friendly connexion between Sher Khan and the Raja of the fort of Rohtas, and Churaman, the Raja's *naib*, was on particular terms of

pp., 352-55. "This is an indefensible act of spoliation of an helpless woman," says Qanungo, "and deserves unqualified condemnation. Even the plea of necessity, which is so often put forward to whitewash such acts, cannot be pleaded in favour of Sher Khan; because the money was not utilised in self-defence, and the case was not one of saving himself from impending ruin and annihilation. The huge armament was being equipped solely for the purpose of carrying out ambitious designs of aggression upon his neighbours. This act is one of those few which have left indelible blots upon his character." (*Sher Shah*, p. 111.)

1. *Akbar-Nama*, I, p. 326.

intimate friendship and alliance with Sher Khan. This Churaman was a Brahman and had formerly shown kindness to the family of Sher Khan's brother Nizam, and procured them shelter in the fort of Rohtas. . . On the present occasion Sher Khan wrote that he was in great straits, and that if the Raja would give him the loan of the fort for a short time, he would be obliged to him all his days, and that when all danger was past, he would again restore the fort. . . Sher Khan also gave to Churaman a bribe of 6 *mans* of gold, and said, " Persuade in any way you can the Raja to give me the loan of his fort for a few days for my family ; but if he will not give it, then I will go and make my peace with the Emperor Humayun, and will revenge myself on everything belonging to the Raja." . . . . . When the Raja finally consented, Sher Khan treacherously ordered his own men, if the guards did not obey the order to leave the fort, to eject them by force. . . . Sher Khan placed his own guards and sentries in every part of the fort, and drove the Raja away from the fort. In the manner thus described he got possession of the fort of Rohtas. 'The commonly received report that Sher Khan put Afghans into *dolis* and sent them into the fort as women, is altogether erroneous and false,' writes Abbas Sarwani ; 'for I, the writer of this history, . . . have inquired of several chiefs and nobles who were with Sher Khan in the affair.'[1]

The strategy, whatever the details thereof, was probably justified by the importance of the place. For after taking possession of the fort, Sher Khan observed, "*The fort of Chunar is no fort in comparison with this* ; *as that has gone out of my possession, this has come into it. I was not so pleased at the conquest of Gaur as I am at getting possession of Rohtas.*"[2]

1. E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 361 n. The rejection of the *doli* story, says Qanungo, does not in any way acquit Sher Khan of the charge of the treachery. . . Sher Khan's present act was certainly not a fair return for the Raja's good services. (*Sher Shah*, pp. 149-50.)

2. Rohtasgarh is situated on the upper course of the river Son in an extremely hilly and inaccessible region. Its position on the map is 83° long. and 24° lat. 'It is possibly the largest and strongest hill-fort in

Sher Khan was the first Muslim conqueror of this fort; he not only secured in it a safe retreat for the Afghan families but also came into possession of the vast treasures which had been accumulated there for ages by the Hindu kings. Prof. Qanungo thinks it must have come into Sher Khan's possession in March, 1538.[1]

An admirable summary of Sher Khan's relations with Humayun—though only from the Afghan point of view—up to the battle of Chaunsa, is contained in his address to his army just before that engagement. Assembling all his chiefs, he said: "I have promised peace to the Emperor Humayun; but I have considered that all the good service I have rendered has produced no good fruit; and after all my loyalty to him . . ., he demanded from me the fort of Chunar. When I refused to yield it, he sent a force to take it; and when that failed, he came himself to seize it by force, but abandoned his intentions when he heard that Mirza Muhammad Zaman had escaped from prison, and had raised a sedition in the country. Moreover Sultan Bahadur, King of Gujarat, was coming to invade the country of Delhi and so he was compelled to return. I sent my son Kutb Khan with him throughout the Gujarat campaign, accompanied by 500 valiant horsemen skilled in the use of the sabre. Though I could have taken possession of the country of Jaunpur etc., yet I did not commit any act of hostility, for the Emperor is mighty; and though I had the power, I would not do any disloyal and evil act, that the Emperor might perceive I was his faithful servant, and desist from seeking to injure me. When he returned from Gujarat, he got his army in readiness, and without regarding my loyalty, did his best to expel me; but as my fortune was great, he did not achieve his desire. I made every submission, but it was all profitless. When in violation of all his promises, he attacked Bengal, I lost all

India', observes Qanungo. Ferishta says, 'Although the author has seen many hill-forts in India he has seen none to compare with that of Rohtas.' (Ibid., p. 151.)

1. Ibid., p. 152.

hope in his goodness, and apprehending evil from him, was compelled to declare hostilities against him, and I expelled his governors and spoiled his country as far as Sambhal, and have not left a single Mughal in those parts. Now with what hope can I conclude this peace with him? He makes peace and manifests a friendly disposition towards me, because his army is in want of horses and cattle and of every equipment, and because his brothers have rebelled against him. He is but playing with me, and eventually will not abide by this peace; but having appeased the rebellion of his brothers on his arrival at Agra, and refurnished his army, he will not fail to uproot and destroy me. *I have often experienced that the Afghans are braver in battle than the Mughals, who only got the country from the dissensions of the Afghans.* If my brothers advise so, I will break off the peace, and will try my fortune."

Events, as we have seen, stood by Sher Shah's fortune. *Chaunsa and Bilgram gave the Empire of Humayun to his Afghan rival. Babur's wise declaration came true: 'The world is his who exerts himself.'* We must now follow the rest of Sher Shah's brilliant career.

5. After Kanauj or Bilgram—1540-42.

(i) *Pursuit of Humayun.*—' Sher Shah being at his ease regarding the Mughals, wrote to Suja'at Khan, whom he had left as *faujdar*, in the country of Bihar and Rohtas, to besiege the fort of Gwalior .... As soon as he received the *farman*, Suja'at Khan went and besieged Gwalior. From Kanauj Sher Shah despatched Barmazid Gur[1] with a large force in advance, but directed him not to hazard an engagement with the Emperor Humayun, and he also sent another force under Nasir Khan towards Sambhal. Having speedily settled the country about Kanauj, he betook himself in the direction of Agra.

1. "Properly, Brahmajit Gaur," Qanungo observes; "Hindus were allowed to hold positions of some importance in the army. One of Sher Shah's best generals was Brahmajit Gaur," mentioned by Jauhar and Abbas Sarwani. "Rajah Ram Shah of Gwalior was another."—(Ibid., pp. 369-70)

'When Sher Shah approached Agra, the Emperor, unable to remain there, fled towards Lahore. Sher Shah was greatly displeased at this, and reproached Barmazid very much, and on his arrival at Agra remained there for some days himself, but sent Khawas Khan and Barmazid Gur in the direction of Lahore, with a large force to pursue the Emperor.[1]

'On arriving at Delhi, the principal men and inhabitants of the city of Sambhal came and complained that Nazir Khan had oppressed and tyrannised over them in various ways. Sher Shah, therefore, despatched Isa Khan, as a person endowed both with valour and justice, and placed Nasir Khan under him. After this, Sher Shah breathed a sigh of relief, and said, "I am now at my ease regarding the whole country from Delhi to Lucknow."

'Entrusting Mewat to Haji Khan, he then proceeded towards Lahore . . . On the third march beyond Lahore, he heard that Mirza Kamran had gone by way of the Judh hills to Kabul, and that the Emperor Humayun was marching along the banks of the Indus to Multan and Bhakkar. The King (Sher Shah) went to Khushab, and thence despatched Khawas Khan . . . . and the greater part of the army, in pursuit of the Emperor, towards Multan. He instructed them not to engage the Emperor but to drive him beyond the borders of the kingdom, and then to return.

'The Mughal division which had quitted the Emperor, and was marching towards Kabul, encountered Khawas Khan and not being strong enough to fight, fled leaving their drums and standards behind, which fell into Khawas Khan's hands, and the Afghan army returning from that place rejoined Sher Shah.'

1. According to Gulbadan Begam—During the three months that the Emperor was at Lahore, word was brought day after day, "Sher Khan has advanced 4 miles, 6 miles," till he was near Sirhind . . . . The Emperor sent him a Turkoman named Muzaffar Beg, with Kazi Abdullah to Sher Khan, to say, "I have left you the whole of Hindustan. Leave Lahore alone, and let Sirhind, where you are, be a boundary between you and me." But that unjust man, fearless of God, did not consent, and answered, "I have left you Kabul, you should go there," (cited by Qanungo).

(ii) *Baloch and Gakkar.*—' Sher Shah delayed sometime at Khushab. While there Ismail Khan, Fath Khan, and Ghazi Khan Balochi came and waited on him... Sher Shah confirmed Ismail Khan in the country of Sind. The chiefs of every tribe and family of Roh came to wait on him; and Sher Shah wisely left these Baloch chiefs undisturbed in their possessions.

' Then he marched with all his forces and retinue, through all the hills of Padman and Garjhak, in order that he might choose a fitting site and build a fort there to keep down the Gakkars, in which he might leave a garrison on the Kabul road, when he himself returned. Having selected Rohtas,[1] he built there the fort which now exists, and laid waste the country of the Gakkars.'

(iii) *Bengal.*—' In the midst of this, news came from Bengal that Khizr Khan, the Governor of Bengal, had assumed the dignity of a king and defied his authority. So he set out himself for Bengal.' There, " instead of placing the whole province under one military governor, as had hitherto been the custom, Sher Shah created several smaller governorships. The governors placed over these divisions were equal in status, and wholly independent of one another, in the administration of their respective areas. They were all directly appointed by him and were responsible to him alone. By this single stroke of policy, he struck at the very root of the evil of chronic rebellion."[2] He remained in Bengal for about

1. Burns considered it one of the greatest bulwarks between Tartary and India. The imperfectly subdued Gakkars ' made a vow among themselves that no one should serve as day-labourer in the construction of the fort. If any one act to the contrary, he must be destroyed...Todar Mal (who later became so very famous in the reign of Akbar) complained of it to Sher Shah, who wrote in reply, that they should go on with the building though they paid for the stone its weight in copper. The fort was completed though the expenses were enormous. Sher Shah called it ' Little Rohtas'. The *Tarikh-i Daudi* calls it 'New Rohtas', and adds, that it ' cost 8 *krors*, 5 thousand, and 2½ *dams*, which means *Bahlolis*—all which is written over the gate of the fort.' (E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 419; also Qanuno, op. cit., pp. 405-6.)

2. Ibid., pp. 242-43.

seven months, from June 1541 to January 1542. Then he returned to Agra.

(iv) *Malwa.*—In April 1542, Sher Shah marched towards the country of Mandu by way of Gwalior, in order to wreak on the rulers of Mandu his revenge for their backwardness in assisting Kutb Khan.[1] At this time there were princes in the kingdom of Mandu who ruled independently. Mallu Khan who had assumed the title of king and the name of Kadir Shah, held possession and rule of the city of Shadmabad, that is to say, the fort of Mandu, and of Ujjain, Sarangpur, and the fort of Rantambhor.

'When Sher Shah reached Sarangpur, Mallu Khan came and submitted. He was much impressed with the rigour, discipline and exertions of Sher Shah's army, and said to the Afghans, "You submit yourselves to wonderful labours and exertions; night and day you have no rest; ease and comfort are things forbidden to you." The Afghans replied, "Such is our master's custom. It behoves a soldier, whatever service his chief may order, or whatever labour or exertion he may require, not to consider it a hardship. *Ease is for women, it is shameful to honourable men.*"

'Sher Shah assigned the country of Mandu to Suja'at Khan.... and then returned to Agra, via Dhar and Rantambhor.'

(v) *Raisin.*—From Agra he went towards Bihar and Bengal, where he suffered an attack of fever and ague. After recovery he once again returned to Agra. When he arrived there, in all the pride of his state, he set off for the country of Mandu, in the year A. H. 950 (1548 A. D.), and took the fort of *Raisin*.[2] This expedition, according to Abbas

1. Apart from this, Qanugo gives two more political motives: (i) To come into direct touch with the kingdoms of Gujarat and Mewar, through which the Mughals might break into Malwa; (ii) to forestall the design of Maldeo in Malwa and crush Maldeo's prospective allies before they could cause serious trouble. Ibid., pp. 252-53.

2. The fort of Raisin (long. 77°. 50′; lat. 23°. 19′) stands on the highest hill of a detached ridge of the Vindhya Mountains, stretching north and south for about 7½ miles, along the upper course of the river Betwa. On the N. and S. two mountain streams cut off this ridge from

Khan, had been provoked by the oppression of Musalman families by its Raja Puran Mal. But Prof. Qanungo definitely says, "It was not undertaken out of a religious motive to punish Puran Mal for enslaving the families of the Muslims of Chanderi, as the bigoted Muslim historians fondly believed .. No incentive of fanaticism was necessary, as the political object was a sufficient stimulant to move Sher Shah against Raisin... One single fort unsubdued might overturn an empire, as Sher Shah could realise by contemplating the fate of Humayun. So he determined to safeguard himself against unknown dangers by rooting out Rajput influence in Malwa."[1]

Whatever might have been the motive and incentive for the attack, Puran Mal and his companions, Abbas Khan proceeds to tell us, 'like hogs at bay, failed not to exhibit valour and gallantry; but in the twinkling of an eye all were slain. Such of their wives and families as were not slain were captured.[2] ... He made over the fort of Raisin to Munshi Shahbaz Khan Sarwani, and returned himself towards Agra, and remained at the capital during the rainy season.'[3]

(vi) *Multan and Sind.*—About the same time as the fall of Raisin, Sind and Multan were conquered by Sher Shah's general, Haibat Khan Niazi. The turbulent Balochis were ever a source of danger to Multan. The conquest of these parts was of utmost importance for Sher Shah. More than anything else it closed the route to Qanadhar, via Siwi, against Humayun, by strengthening Sakkar and Bhakkar to which he gave the name of Shergarh. The conquest was completed by November, 1543.

contiguous hills, and thus add to the strength of its defence. On the east it presents a formidable front of unbroken rock-wall, 1722 to 1760 ft. in height. (Ibid., p. 284.)

1. Ibid., pp. 288-89.

2. For a full account of this incident see E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 397-403; also Qanungo, op. cit., pp. 284-99.

3. This time, about 7 or 8 months (July 1543 to Feb. 1544, according to Qanungo) he utilised for building projects, administrative work, but chiefly military equipment on a large scale for his coming campaign in Rajputana. (Ibid. pp. 316-7.)

(vii) *Rajputana.*—' After the conclusion of the rains, Sher Shah ordered that his conquering forces, beyond all calculation or numeration,[1] should under the shadow of his victorious standards, march towards the country of Nagor, Ajmir and Jodhpur, which belonged to Maldeo[2] the Rajah with whom Humayun had sought shelter in vain.

'When he arrived at Fathpur-Sikri, he ordered that each division of the army should march together in order of battle, and should throw up an earthen entrenchment at every halting ground. On the way they encamped one day on a plain of sand, and in spite of every labour, they could not on account of the sand, make an entrenchment. Mahmud Khan, grandson of Sher Shah, said: "Let my lord order that sacks should be filled with sand, and that they should make the entrenchment with the bags." Sher Shah was greatly delighted, and ordered that they should do likewise. When he approached the enemy, Sher Shah contrived a stratagem; and having written letters in the name of Maldeo's nobles to this effect, viz., "Let not the King permit any anxiety or doubt to find its way to his heart. During the battle we will seize Maldeo and bring him to you"; and having inclosed these letters in a *kharita* or silken bag, he gave it to a certain person, and directed him to go near to the tent of the *vakil* of

1. 'Sher Shah had so great an army, in this campaign,' says Abbas Khan, 'that the best calculators, in spite of all reflection and thought and calculation, were at a loss to number and reckon them, and they often ascended the tops of eminences that the length and breadth of the army might appear to them; but so exceeding was its magnitude, that its whole length and breadth were never visible together and we asked old men of great age, whether they had ever seen or heard of so great an army, but they replied they had not.'—E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 404.

2. Maldeo ascended the throne of Marwar in 1532. At his accession it was a small impoverished state of only second-rate importance. Within five or six years, however, by his shrewd policy and incessant activity, he reconquered the whole of Marwar proper from his powerful but disobedient vassals, annexed Bikanir, and considerably aggrandised himself at the expense of Jesalmir, Mewar, and Amber.—(Qanungo, op. cit., pp. 263-79.)

Maldeo, and remain there; and when he went out, to drop the *kharita* on his way, and conceal himself.

'Sher Shah's agent did as he was ordered; and when the *vakil* of Maldeo saw the *kharita* lying, he picked it up, and sent the letters to Maldeo. When the latter learned their contents, he was much alarmed, and fled without fighting. Although his nobles took oaths of fidelity, he did not heed them. Some of the chieftains, such as Jaya Chand and Goha, and others, came and attacked Sher Shah, and displayed exceeding valour. Part of the army was routed, and a certain Afghan came to Sher Shah, and advised him in his native tongue saying, "Mount, for the infidels are routing your army." Sher Shah was performing his morning devotions, and reading the *Musta' abi-i ' ashr.* He gave no reply to the Afghan. By a sign he ordered his horse, and mounted, when news of victory was brought to the effect that Khawas Khan had slain Jaya and Goha with all their forces. When Sher Shah learnt of the valour and gallantry of these men, he exclaimed, '*I had nearly lost the kingdom of Delhi, for a handful of bhajra* (millet seed)."

This occurred about March, 1544. 'He left Khawas Khan and Isa Khan Niazi and some other chiefs in the country of Nagor, and himself withdrew. Khawas Khan founded a city in his own name, near the fort of Jodhpur, and brought into his power and possession the whole country of Nagor and Ajmir, the fort of Jodhpur, and the districts of Marwar. Maldeo went to the fort of Siwana, on the borders of Gujarat.' Sher Shah, to allay misgivings, paid a flying visit to his capital, and rejoined his camp at Ajmir, about the middle of June, 1544.

Next he turned to Chitor. Mewar at this time was utterly prostrate; she seemed to have no more blood left to shed in defence of her capital. It was one of the darkest periods in the history of Rajputana. The bastard Banabir, whom the disaffected nobles of Mewar had raised to the throne, had murdered the dethroned Bikramjit, and would have done the same with the infant Udai Singh, but for his

nurse Panna's noble sacrifice. The boy had been installed only two years before Sher Shah invaded. No wonder that 'when he was yet 12 *kos* from the fort of Chitor, the Rajah who was its ruler sent him the keys. When Sher Shah came to Chitor he left in it the younger brother of Khawas Khan, Mian Ahmad Sarwani, Hasan Khan Khilji. Sher Shah himself marched towards Kachwara, and thence to Kalinjar.

'The Raja of Kalinjar, Kirat Singh, did not come out to meet him. So he (Sher Shah) ordered the fort to be invested, and threw up mounds against it, and in a short time the mounds rose so high that they overtopped the fort. The men who were in the streets and houses were exposed, and the Afghans shot them with their arrows and muskets from off the mounds. The cause of this tedious mode of capturing the fort was this. Among the women of Rajah Kirat Singh was a Patar slave-girl, i. e., a dancing-girl. The King had heard exceeding praise of her, and he considered how to get possession of her, for he feared lest, if he stormed the fort, the Raja Kirat Singh would certainly make a *Jauhar*, and would burn the girl.'

"The fortress of Kalinjar was besieged about the beginning of November, 1544 A. D. The natural strength of the fort was such as to baffle any attempt to storm it. The hill on which the fort stands has an elevation of 1230 ft. above the sea, and is isolated from the adjacent range by a chasm or ravine about 1,200 yds. wide. The sides rise rather steeply from the plain, and in the upper part have a nearly perpendicular face of 150 or 180 ft. in height, and in most places inaccessible. The fortifications are massively constructed of large blocks of stone laid generally without cement and about 35 ft. thick."

'On Friday, the 9th Rabiu-1 awwal, 952 A. H. when one watch and two hours of the day were over, Sher Shah called for his breakfast, and ate with his *ulama* and priests, without whom he never breakfasted. In the midst of his breakfast, Sheikh Nizam said, "There is nothing equal to a religious war against the infidels. If you be slain, you become a

martyr; if you live, you become a *ghazi*." When Sher Shah had finished eating his breakfast, he ordered Darya Khan to bring loaded shells, and went up to the top of a mound, and with his own hand shot off many arrows, and said, "Darya Khan comes not; he delays very long." But when the shells were at last brought, Sher Shah came down from the mound and stood where they were placed. While the men were employed in discharging them, by the will of God Almighty, one shell full of gun-powder struck on the gate of the fort and broke, and came and fell where a great number of other shells were placed. Those which were loaded all began to explode. Sheikh Halil, Sheikh Nizam, and other learned men, and most of the others escaped and were not burnt; but they brought out Sher Shah partially burnt. A young princess who was standing by the rockets was burnt to death.

'When Sher Shah was carried into his tent, all his nobles assembled in *darbar*; and he sent for Isa Khan Hajib and Masnad Khan Kalkapur, the son-in-law of Isa Khan and the paternal uncle of the author (Abbas Khan), to come into his tent, and ordered them to take the fort while he was yet alive. When Isa Khan came out and told the chiefs that it was Sher Shah's order that they should attack on every side and capture the fort, men came and swarmed out instantly on every side like ants and locusts; and by the time of afternoon prayers captured the fort, putting everyone to the sword, and sending all the infidels to hell. About the hour of evening prayers, the intelligence of the victory reached Sher Shah, and marks of joy and pleasure appeared on his countenance.

'On the 10th Rabiu-l awwal, 952 A. H. (22 May, 1545 A. D.) Sher Shah went from the hostel of this world to rest in the mansion of happiness, and ascended peacefully from the abode of this world to the lofty heavens; the date was discovered in the words *az atash murd*, he died from fire.'

It is not certain whether Sher Shah's body was buried at Kalinjar, or removed to the grand mausoleum erected by himself at *Sasaram*—the home of his greatness.[1] He had

1. Qanungo, op. cit., p. 343.

reigned for six months as King of Bengal and Jaunpur, and for five years as the Emperor of Hindustan. He might have been sixty years of age at the time of his death. "Thus passed away in the mid-career of victory and beneficent activity the great soldier and statesman, with whom there appeared for the persecuted Hindus the dawn of that era of toleration, justice, and equality of political rights, which broadened into dazzling noon on the accession of Akbar."[1]

II. SHER SHAH'S CAPACITY

Introduction.

Sher Shah was, according to all estimates, a man of varied talents and extraordinary genius. It would not be unfair to compare him with Henry VII in his dealings with the feudal nobility; with Frederick William I—Prussia's greatest 'internal king'—in the care he bestowed upon both military organisation and civil administration; with Kautalya and Machiavelli in his practical outlook and political principles; and Asoka in his benevolent intentions and solicitude for the welfare of all classes of his subjects. In fact, he was a combination of Babur and Frederick the Great of Prussia. Erskine says: "Sher Shah was one of the most extraordinary men whose name appears in the history of India. His character has been represented in very different lights by different authors. As he was long the grand enemy of the house of Timur, whom for a time he drove out of India, by their partisans he has been drawn in very unfavourable colours.[2] But the evidence of less prejudiced writers, and of facts, must restore to him the high praise and honourable distinction that, with all the imperfections of his character, are justly his due."[3]

1. Ibid., p. 341.

2. e. g. Abu-l Fazl affects to deride his institutions, which he represents as a revival of those of Alau-d din; nevertheless, most of them remained after the downfall of his dynasty, and are spoken of by the same author, along with many others of former sovereigns, as original conceptions of his master Akbar.—Elphinstone, op. cit., pp. 457-8.

3. Erskine, op. cit., II, pp. 110-11.

A. Personal Character.

Sher Shah's life, whose principal events we have briefly narrated, is the best commentary of his character that any one can offer. Apart from his undoubted genius, the outstanding quality that explains his success is his capacity for incessant activity. "For," said he, "it behoves the great to be always active, and they should not consider, on account of the greatness of their dignity and loftiness of their rank, the affairs and business of the kingdom, small or petty."[1] The incentive to this was, no doubt, his great ambition; but it was an ambition conceived by his national patriotism engendered by his early studies and experience. When his father's unfair treatment drove him to Jaunpur, he utilised the time in studying history, philosophy, and the biographies of ancient kings. 'Subsequently,' Abbas Khan informs us, 'whenever during his reign, learned men came to ask him for a maintenance, he used to ask them about the *Hashia-i Hindia*, and he still retained his liking for books of history and the lives of ancient kings.' When he was

1. The *Wakiat-i-Mushtaki* gives the following account of the daily routine of Sher Shah's busy life:—

'Sher Shah was occupied night and day with the business of his kingdom, and never allowed himself to be idle. At the end of night he arose, performed his ablutions, and said his prayers. Afterwards he called in his officers and managers to report all the occurrences of the day. For four hours he listened to the reading of reports on the affairs of the country or on the business of the Government establishments. The orders which he gave were reduced to writing, and were issued and acted upon; there was no need of further discussion. Thus he remained engaged till morning arrived. When it was time for prayers, he performed his devotions in a large congregation, and went through all the forms of prayer. Afterwards he received his nobles and soldiers, and made inquiries as to the horses brought to receive their brands. Then he went out and made a personal inspection of his forces, and settled the allowances of each individual by word of mouth until all was arranged. He then attended to many other affairs and audited accounts. Petitions were received from every quarter, and replies were sent; he himself dictated them in Persian, and the scribes committed them to writing. Every person who came to wait upon him was received in the palace.'—E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 550-51.

appointed to the administration of his father's *jagirs*, he carried with him a high but modest sense of duty. "To please you I accept the management of the two districts. I will not fail to do my duty to the best of my power . . . . I shall devote myself to increase the prosperity of the districts, and that depends on a just administration; for it has been said by the learned. . . . . " His tenure as *jagirdar*, short though it was, revealed his practical genius, as well as his great love for the welfare of the people entrusted to his care,—particularly the peasants. He always liked the company of the religious and the learned. Abbas Khan tells us, he never breakfasted except in the company of the *ulama*. But in moments of action, he was his own best counsel. After the Raisin expedition, he consulted his nobles of note, and the wise among his courtiers, and they said, 'It is incumbent on the powerful and fortunate to root out this innovating (*Shia*) schism from the Dekhin'; but Sher Shah replied, "What you have said is most right and proper, but it has come into my mind...... until I have cleansed the country from the existing contamination of the unbelievers (Hindus), I will not go into any other country. First I will root out that accursed infidel Maldeo. . . ." 'The chiefs and nobles assented, and so it was settled.' But Sher Shah's whole administration is a refutation of the implication of religious bigotry against the Hindus, contained in this representation of him by our historian. The expedition against Maldeo was undoubtedly political: it was to give the Rajput a taste of his power, and to prevent any possibility of his harbouring the Mughal, as Maldeo had been inclined to do.

Instances may be multiplied to illustrate the other aspects of Sher Shah's character. His unique sense of justice, for instance, was a part of the man himself that determined the character of his administration. But this will be illustrated later. He was above all, and essentially, a man of destiny who had faith in himself and faith in God who seemed to have marked him out for the success that he achieved. After the final discomfiture and dispersal of the enemy, he returned to the Imperial tents, dismounted in the hall of audience, and humbly prostra-

ted himself in prayer to the Giver of all Victory. "He did not now hesitate to declare a dream which he had on the preceding night. He thought that he and Humayun were both carried into the presence of the Prophet of God, who was sitting in state on a throne, and who, addressing the Emperor, told him that the Almighty had bestowed his kingdom on Sher Shah; and, at the same time, taking the crown and cap of authority from his head, placed them on that of his rival, commanding him to rule with justice."[1]

B. Military Genius.

Genius has been defined as a happy mixture of luck, audacity, and infinite capacity to take pains. However this may be, it is particularly true with regard to military achievement. Successful generalship, as Humayun's failures had amply demonstrated, required many other qualities besides personal courage. Above everything else it requires shrewd insight into human nature, resourcefulness, and a clear grasp of the real in a very mundane sense. The uniform success of Sher Shah showed the presence in him of all these ingredients. By way of illustration, we might recall here a few instances.

(i) The resolute manner in which he brought under control the recalcitrant *zamindars* on his father's estates was the first evidence he gave of his consummate ability to restore order in those troubled times. 'There were some *zamindars* who had committed all sorts of offences, such as theft and highway robbery, and refusing to pay revenue, never came to the governor's presence, but were insolent from confidence in their numbers. Although these were often warned, they took no heed. Farid collected his forces, and commanded that every one of his villagers who had a horse should come riding upon it, and that he who had not a horse should come on foot. And he took with him half his own soldiers, and the other half he employed in collecting revenue and other local duties.

'When the soldiers and peasants were assembled, he marched towards the villages of the recusants, and at a

1. Erskine, op. cit., II, p. 173.

distance of a *kos* threw up an earthen entrenchment, and ordered them to cut down the neighbouring jungle. His horsemen he directed to petrol round the villages; to kill all men they met, and to make prisoners of the women and children, to drive in the cattle, to permit no one to cultivate the fields, to destroy crops already sown, and not to permit any one to bring anything from the neighbouring parts, nor to allow any one of them to carry anything out of the village, and not to permit a soul to go out. His footmen he also ordered to cut down the jungle. When the jungle was all cut down he marched from his former position, and made another entrenchment nearer the village, and occupied it. The rebels were humbled, and sent a representative saying, that if Farid Khan would pardon their fault, they would submit. Farid Khan replied that he would not accept their submission, and there could be nothing but hostility between him and them: to whichever God might please, He would give the victory.

'Although the rebels humbled themselves in every way, and offered to pay a large sum of money, yet Farid Khan would not accept the money, but said to his men:— "This is the way of these rebels: first they fight and oppose their ruler: if they find him weak, they persist in their rebelliousness; but if they see that he is strong, they come to him deceitfully, and humble themselves, and agree to pay a sum of money, and so they persuade their ruler to leave them alone; but as soon as they find an opportunity, they return to their evil ways."

'When the other rebels heard of the death, imprisonment, and ruin of these, they listened to wisdom, repented of their contumacy, and abstained from theft and robbery.'

(ii) A second instance where Sher Shah showed his abilities as a general was when he fought the forces of Bengal. Ibrahim Khan, the Bengali general commanded vastly superior numbers, and possessed, besides many elephants, a park of artillery. But, Sher Khan who was a better commander made up for all these by his skill and resourcefulness. After a few days' skirmishing, he called together his men and said:—"I have for some time abstained from meeting the Bengalis in the

open field, and have kept myself sheltered under entrenchments, lest our men should be discouraged by the large numbers of the enemy. Now I am convinced that the Bengalis are much inferior to the Afghans in war...I will now engage in open battle, for without a general engagement we cannot destroy and disperse our enemies. Praise be to God, whenever such an engagement occurs between Afghans and Bengalis, the Afghans must prevail. It is impossible that the Bengalis can stand against them. At present this is my purpose. To-morrow morning, if you concur with me, hoping in the mercy of the Protector, and trusting on this text—'By God's command the lesser number overcomes the greater,' I will engage the enemy in open battle, for it behoves us not to delay or be backward in this matter, as reinforcements will soon reach them." The Afghans replied : "That which your noble mind has determined is extremely right."

The strategy by which he won the battle has already been described ; it was similar to that employed by William the Conqueror in the battle of Senlac, and the result identical.

(iii) The manœuvres by which Sher Shah encompassed the ruin of Humayun were master-pieces of military strategy. For details the reader is referred to the descriptions of the battles of Chaunsa and Bilgram, given elsewhere in this book. Although there was a uniformity in the tactics employed by Sher Shah on both the occasions, Humayun was too dull to profit by experience.

(iv) To economise in his men, and not to waste them in avoidable encounters was with Sher Shah a constant principle. This often led him to attain his ends through means too open to moral censure. The acquisition of Chunar, Rohtas, and Raisin are examples of treacherous conduct—though not infrequent in that Machiavellian age—which cast a deep shadow on Sher Shah's otherwise fair reputation. His ruse of the forged letters in the case of Maldeo is of a piece with this unscrupulous behaviour, that sometimes passes in the name of political adroitness. Nevertheless, these actions seem to have originated chiefly from Sher Shah's extreme reluctance to shed the blood

of his own men needlessly. No wonder, therefore, that his men put their utmost trust in him. He inspired confidence in his soldiers by repeatedly telling them that 'the Mughals are not superior to the Afghans in battle or single combat; but the Afghans have let the Empire of Hind slip from their hands on account of their internal dissensions.' His successive triumphs must have convinced them that he was right. He made it appear to the Afghans that his was a national cause; and those whom he could not otherwise induce, he compelled by conscription. 'Many of them,' Abbas Khan says, 'who had assumed the garb of religious mendicants, on account of their misfortunes, he relieved and enlisted as soldiers; and some who refused to enlist, and preferred a life of mendicancy, he put to death, and declared he would kill every Afghan who refused to be a soldier. He was very careful of his Afghans in action, that their lives might not be uselessly sacrificed. When the Afghans heard that Sher Khan was eagerly patronising their race, they entered into his service from all directions.'

Prof. Qanungo writes: "He was one of the most humane conquerors.... In spite of his severity, no general was more beloved of his soldiers. His personal magnetism was great, which animated his soldiers and made them cheerfully perform their onerous duties. After a hard day's march the soldiers were not allowed to rest before throwing up redoubts round their encampment. They implicitly submitted to all hardships, not as the slaves of an Oriental despot but as the comrades of an adored commander.... Originality and boldness of plan, rapidity of movement, and an eye for strategic situations characterised Sher Shah's campaigns. He was averse to unnecessary bloodshed and cruelty, and had no passion for fight. He had above all, a heart which soldiers and statesmen often lack. He could feel for the misfortune of his enemy: we are told that tears burst out of his eyes when the Mughal queen with a multitude of ladies came out of the camp and stood suppliant before him (after, Humayun's defeat at Chaunsa)."[1]

1. Qanungo, op. cit., pp. 411-14.

C. Administrative Ability.

Prof. Qanungo has described Sher Shah as "the greatest administrative and military genius among the Afghans".[1] A careful examination of the administrative system that he established within his dominions and its abiding effects, in an otherwise chaotic age, would go to show that there is little exaggeration in the use of this superlative. Those who plead want of time in the case of Babur will find in Sher Shah's constructive achievement a convincing refutation of their apology for Babur's lack of administrative genius. Abu-l Fazl's observation that he introduced some of the many plans of Alau-d din Khilji of which he had heard 'as they are detailed in the *Tarikh-i Firozshahi*', does scant justice to Sher Shah's political originality.[2] But more than any detail of civil or military organisation which he might have borrowed from earlier kings, the spirit that informed his marvellous regime forms the basis of his enduring fame. Crooke's estimate in this respect is therefore nearer the mark: "He was the first Musalman ruler," he says, "who studied the good of his people. He had the genius to see that the government must be popularised, that the king must govern for the benefit of his subjects, that the Hindus must be conciliated by a policy of justice and toleration, that the land-revenue must be settled on an equitable basis, that material development of the country must be encouraged . . . All this and more Akbar strove to do later on... Sher Shah relaxed the oppressive Muhammadan law code and provided for the administration of justice. That he introduced such extensive reforms in his short reign of five years is a wonderful proof of his executive ability. 'No government, not even the British, has shown so much wisdom as this Pathan,' as Keene says."[3]

1. Ibid., Foreword, p. iii.

2. "Unlike his predecessors, Sher Shah gradually built up from below a solid structure of Government, whose base was co-extensive with the area of his Empire."—Ibid, p. 351.

3. *Memoirs of the Races of the N. W. Provinces*, II, p. 97; cited by Qanungo.

'For an elaborate treatment of Sher Shah's administration the reader is directed to Prof. Qanungo's exhaustive study (*Sher Shah*, chapter xii, pp. 346-406). Here we subjoin an abstract of the concluding portion of the *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* of Abbas Khan Sarwani, with critical observations wherever necessary :—

Prologue: 'When fortune gave into the hands of Sher Shah the bridle of power, and the kingdom of Hind fell under his dominion, he made certain laws, both from his own ideas, and by extracting them from the works of the learned, for securing relief from tyranny, and for the repression of crime and villainy; for maintaining the prosperity of his realms, the safety of the highways, and the comfort of merchants and troops. "Crime and violence," he said, "prevent the development of prosperity. It behoves kings to be grateful for the favour that the Lord has made His people subject to them, and, therefore, not to disobey the commandments of God.

Personal Attention: 'Sher Shah attended to every business concerning the administration of the kingdom and the revenues, whether great or small, in his own person. So he divided both day and night into portions for each separate business and suffered no idleness to find its way to him. "For," said he, "it behoves the great to be always active, and they should not consider, on account of the greatness of their own dignity and loftiness of their own rank, the affairs and business of the kingdom, small or petty, and must place no undue reliance on their ministers. . . . The corruption of ministers of contemporary princes was the means of my acquiring the worldly kingdom I possess. A king should not have corrupt *vakils* or *wazirs*; for a receiver of bribes is dependent on the giver of bribes; and one who is dependent is unfit for the office of *wazir*, for he is an interested personage; and to an interested person loyalty and truth in the administration of the kingdom are lost."

'Sher Shah was adorned with the jewel of justice, and he

often times remarked: *"Justice is the most excellent of religious rites, and it is approved alike by the kings of infidels and of the faithful."*

Administration of Justice:

'When the young shoot of Sher Shah's prosperity came into bearing, he always ascertained the exact truth regarding the oppressed, and the suitors for justice; and he never favoured the oppressors, although they might be his near relations, his dear sons,[1] his renowned nobles,[2] or of his own tribe; and he never showed any delay or lenity in punishing oppressors. He appointed courts of justice in every place.[3]

1. Erskine gives the following anecdote to illustrate Sher Shah's impartial administration of justice, irrespective of personalities:—

'One day, his eldest son Adel Khan, riding on an elephant through the streets of Agra, in passing a house, the walls round which were in disrepair, observed the wife of a shop-keeper, undressed and bathing. Struck with her beauty, he fixed his eyes upon her, threw her a *bida* (*pan*), and passed on. The woman, who considered, by this freedom he treated her as a wanton, feeling her honour wounded, resolved not to survive the affront. Her husband, when informed of the incident, had great difficulty in preventing her intention. He went straight to the levee of Sher Shah, and among other suitors, preferred his complaint. The King, having investigated the circumstances, pronounced judgment ordering the law of retaliation to be enforced; and that the shop-keeper, mounted on an elephant, should in his turn throw a *bida* to the prince's wife, when undressed and preparing for the bath. Great influence was exerted to mollify the King, but in vain. *Such* he said, *was the law of their religion, and, in administering justice, he knew no difference between prince and peasant*: that it should not be said that a man, because his son, could injure a subject whom he was bound to protect. The complainant, in delight, withdrew his complaint, saying that now that he had gained his right, his character was restored and he was satisfied; and, at his entreaty, the matter was ended.'—(Erskine, op. cit., II, pp. 444-45.)

2. See E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 425-32.

3. Criminal justice was administered by the *Chief Shiqdar* and revenue disputes settled by the *Chief Munsif*. No historian tells us, says Qanungo, anything about the appointment of the *mir-i-adals* or the *qazis* for trying civil cases requiring the knowledge of Muslim canon-law. In an anecdote of the *Tarikh-i Daudi* (MS. p. 204) we find the only allusion to *mir-i-adal* and *qazi*. This was undoubtedly a continuation of an old institution, developed by Sultan Sikandar Lodi.—*Sher Shah* p. 399.

'He strictly impressed on the *amils* and governors, that if a theft or robbery occurred within their limits, and the perpetrators were not discovered, then they should arrest the *muqaddams* of the surrounding villages, and compel them to make it good ; but if the *muqaddams* produced the offenders, or pointed out their haunts, the thieves and highway robbers themselves were punished with the penalties laid down in the holy law. And if murders should occur, and the murderers were not discovered, the *amils* were enjoined to seize the *muqaddams,* as detailed above, and imprison them and give them a period within which to declare the murderers. If they produced the murderer, or pointed out where he lived, they were to let the *muqaddam* go, and put the murderer to death ; but if the *muqaddams* of a village where the murder had occurred could not do this, they were themselves put to death ; for it has been generally ascertained that theft and highway robberies can only take place by the connivance of these headmen. . . If a *muqaddam* harbours thieves and robbers unknown to the governor, it is fit he should be punished, or even be put to death, that it may be a warning to others to abstain from similar acts.

'The rules for the collection of revenue from the people and for the prosperity of the kingdom, were after this wise :—

Collection of Revenue:

'There was in every *pargana,* one *amir*, one God-fearing *siqdar*, one treasurer, one *karkun* to write Hindi, and one to write Persian[1]; and he ordered his governors to measure the

1. The *pargana* was the administrative unit—the smallest that he could find without destroying the autonomous village communities. (The use of this term is a bit confusing ; it has been used in Abbas Khan's narrative, as we have seen, to signify a district. At other places, it is also used for a village.)

Amir, *amin*, and *amil*—are all used for the same official. He was a civil officer whose duties were the assessment and collection of revenue, and to act as an umpire between the State and the individual *rayat.*

The *siqdar* was a soldier, and military or police officer. He was to execute *farmans*, to assist the *amins* in revenue collection, if necessary, and to maintain the King's peace generally.

For fuller details see Ibid., pp. 352-53.

land every harvest, to collect the revenue according to the measurement, and in proportion to the produce, giving one share to the cultivator, and half a share to the *muqaddam*; and fixing the assessment with regard to the kind of grain, in order that the *muqaddams* and the *chaudharis*, and *amils* should not oppress the cultivators, who are the support of the prosperity of the kingdom.

'Before his time it was not the custom to measure the land, but there was a *qanungo* for every *pargana*, from whom was ascertained the present, past, and probable future state of the *pargana*.[1]

1. The earlier Muslim rulers of Delhi considered themselves as proprietors of the soil, and as such, entitled to the whole produce of the land, leaving only just enough for the maintenance of the peasant. There was no fixity of the State demand; the revenue was generally assessed in the gross by guess or computation. Alau-d din Khilji first devised the scheme of *Jarib* (survey and assessment). He demanded 'half of the produce of the land without any diminution' (E. & D., op. cit., III, p. 182). The license of the Muslim soldiery and the exactions of the Hindu *muqaddams*, were the bane of the peasants. The fief holders and the soldier-lords wielded almost absolute political authority over their tenants.

Under Sher Shah, lands were surveyed under an uniform system of mensuration. He ordered the use of the *gaz-Sikandari* (32 digits.) The land was measured by rope,—for which later on Akbar substituted the bamboo,—into *bhigas*. The terms *bhiga* and *jarib* were interchangeable; one *jarib* or *bhiga* consisted of 3,600 sq. *gaz* (*Ain.*, II, p. 62). The holding of every *rayat* was separately measured and ¼ of the expected produce was assessed as the government revenue. As was the custom under previous Sultans, the cultivator was given the choice of payment either in kind or cash, preference being given to the latter. A *kabuliyat* or agreement, containing a short account of the *rayat's* holding, and the amount to be paid by him to Government, was taken by the *amin* from every individual *rayat*, duly signed and attested; and he gave in return a *patta* or title-deed to the *rayat*, with a record of the State demand.

"Sher Shah regarded the interests of the ruler and the *rayat*, as identical: 'If a little favour is shown to the *rayat*, the ruler benefits by it.' His general instruction to the revenue officers was—'Be lenient at the time of assessment, but show no mercy at the time of collection.' His revenue-system, popularly known as *Todar Mal's bandobast*, obtained in Northern India throughout the Mughal period, and in all its essential

'In every *sarkar* he appointed a chief (*Siqdar-i-siqdaran*) and a *Chief Munsif* (*Munsif-i-munsifan*), that they might watch over the conduct of both the *amils* and the people; that the *amils*, should not oppress or injure the people, or embezzle the King's revenue; and if any quarrel arose among the *amils*, regarding the boundaries of the *parganas*, they were to settle that no confusion might find its way amongst the King's affairs.

'If the people, from any lawlessness or rebellious spirit, created a disturbance regarding the collection of the revenue, they were so to eradicate and destroy them with punishment and chastisement that their wickedness and rebellion should not spread to others.'[1]

Transfer of Officers:

Every year, or second year, he changed his *amils*, and sent new ones, for he said, "I have examined much, and accurately ascertained that there is no such income and advantage in other employments as the government of a district. Therefore, I send my good old experienced loyal servants to take charge of districts, that the salaries, profits, and advantages, may accrue to them in preference to others; and after two years I change them, and send other servants like to them, that they also may prosper, and that under my rule all my old servants may enjoy these profits and advantages, and that the gate of comfort and ease may be opened to them.

As with the civil so with the military, he observed this rule of equi-distribution of profits and of labour. Abbas Khan writes: 'And in every place where it served his inter-

features has survived in British India under the name of the *rayatwari-settlement*, admired so enthusiastically by the Anglo-Indian administrators." Qanungo, op. cit., pp. 370-79.

1. The duties of the *Chief Siqdar* resembled those of the *Faujdar* under the Mughals, and discharged functions as under Sikandar Lodi. Though a military noble, with a police force of 2,000 to 5,000 troops under him, he was essentially a civil officer like a modern magistrate.

The word *munsif* means 'doer of justice'; the *Chief Munsif* seems to have also acted as a circuit-judge for trying civil suits, and redressing the grievances of the peasants and *muqaddams* at the hands of *pargana* officials.—(Ibid., pp. 354-57.)

ests, he kept garrisons. Afer a time he used to send for the forces which had enjoyed ease and comfort on their *jagirs*, and to send away in their stead the chiefs who had undergone labour and hardships with the victorious army.

Military Organisation :

'His whole army was beyond all limit or numbering, and it increased every day. The rule regarding the army for guarding the kingdom from the disturbances of rebels, and to keep down and repress contumacious and rebellious *zamindars*, so that no one should think the kingdom undefended, and therefore attempt to conquer it, was as follows :—

'Sher Shah always kept 150,000 horse, and 25,000 footmen, either armed with match-locks or bows, present with him, and on some expeditions took even more with him. There were also 5,000 elephants in his elephant-sheds. And in every place where it served his interests he kept garrisons; *e.g.*, in the fort of Gwalior he kept a force to which were attached 1,000 match-lock men. In Bayana he kept a division, besides a garrison of 500 match-locks; in Rantambhor another division besides 1,600 match-lock men; in the fort of Chitor, 3,000 match-lock men; in the fort of Shadmabad or Mandu was stationed Suja'at Khan with 10,000 horse and 7,000 match-locks. He had his *jagirs* in Hindia and Malwa. In the fort of Raisin a force was stationed together with 1,000 artillery men; and in the fort of Chunar, another force also with 1,000 match-lock men; and in the fort of Rohtas, near Bihar, he kept Ikhtiyar Khan Panni, with 10,000 match-lock men: and Sher Shah kept treasures without number or reckoning in that fort. . . (Similarly, at Nagor, Jodhpur, Ajmir, Lucknow, Kalpi, etc.) The kingdom of Bengal he divided into parts, and made Kazi Fazilat *Amir* of that whole kingdom.'

Prof. Qanungo observes that to Sultan Alau-d din Khilji belongs the credit of organising the Indian army on a new model. He created an army recruited directly by the central government, paid in cash from the State treasury, officered by nobles of the Sultan's own choice, while corruption was checked by the *dagh* (branding) system. The armies of

the Lodis were of the clannish feudal type, consisting of the quotas of various tribal chiefs enjoying *jagirs* for service. Sher Shah revived the system of Alau-d din Khilji and transformed the army into a truly Imperial institution. The soldier obeyed his immediate commanding officer, not as his personal chief, but as the Emperor's servant. The Emperor combined in himself the functions of the Commander-in-Chief and the Pay-Master-General.[1] . . In order to take away from the military character of the administration, Sher Shah took care that in normal times of peace, the military should remain in the background, only as the support of the civil authority.[2]

Branding of Horses:

'Among the rules which Sher Shah promulgated, is the branding of horses. And he said he ordered it on this account, that the rights of the chiefs and the soldiers might be distinct, and that the chiefs might not be able to defraud the soldiers of their rights; and that every one should maintain soldiers according to his rank (*mansab*) and not vary his numbers. "For," said he, "in the time of Sultan Ibrahim, and afterwards, I observed that many base nobles were guilty of fraud and falsehood, who at the time their monthly salary was assigned to them, had a number of soldiers; but when they had got possession of their *jagirs*, they dismissed the greater number of their men without payment, and only kept a few men for indispensable duties, and did not even pay them in full. Nor did they regard the injury to their master's interests, of the ingratitude of their own conduct; and when their lord ordered a review or assembly of their forces, they brought strange men and horses, and mustered them, but the money they put into their own treasuries. In time of war they would be defeated from paucity of numbers; but they kept the money, and when their master's affairs became critical and disordered, they, equipping themselves with this very money, took service elsewhere; so, from the ruin of their master's fortunes, they suffered no loss. When I had the good fortune to gain power,

1. Qanungo, op. cit., pp. 361-63.
2. Ibid., p. 353.

I was on my guard against the deceit and fraud of both soldiers and chiefs, and ordered the horses to be branded, in order to block up the road against these tricks and frauds, so that the chiefs could not entertain strangers to fill up their ranks." Sher Shah's custom was this that he would not pay their salary unless the horses were branded, and he carried it to such an extent that he would not give anything to the sweepers and women servants about the palace without a brand, and they wrote out descriptive rolls of the men and horses and brought them before him, and he himself compared the rolls when he fixed the monthly salaries and then he had the horses branded in his presence.

Roads and Sarais:

'For the convenience in travelling of poor travellers on every road at a distance of two *kos*, he made a *sarai* ; and one road with *sarais* he made from the fort which he built in the Punjab to the city of Sunargaon, which is situated in the kingdom of Bengal, on the shore of the ocean. Another road he made from the city of Agra to Jodhpur and Chitor, and one road with *sarais* from the city of Lahore to Multan. Altogether he built 1,700 *sarais* on various roads ; and in every *sarai* he built separate lodgings, both for Hindus and for Musalmans, and at the gate of every *sarai* he placed pots full of water, that anyone might drink ; and in every *sarai* he settled Brahmans for the entertainment of Hindus, to provide hot and cold water, and beds and food, and grain for all their horses; and it was a rule in these *sarais*, that whoever entered them received provision suitable to his rank, and food and litter for his cattle, from Government.

'Villages were established all round the *sarais*. In the middle of every *sarai* was a well and a *masjid* of burnt brick ; and he placed an *imam* and a *muazzim* in every *masjid*, together with a custodian (*shahna*), and several watchmen ; and all these were maintained from the land near the *sarai*.

'On both sides of the highway Sher Shah planted fruit-bearing trees, such as also gave much shade, that in the hot wind travellers might go along under the trees; and if they

should stop by the way, might rest and take repose. If they put up at a *sarai*, they bound their horses under the trees.[1]

Spies and Informers:

'At every *sarai* were placed two horses for the news reporters. So there were 3,400 horses, in all the *sarais* together, always ready to bring intelligence every day from every quarter. For the enforcement of the regulations which he had established for the protection of the people, Sher Shah sent trusted spies with every force of his nobles, in order that, inquiring and secretly ascertaining all circumstances relating to the nobles, their soldiers, and the people, they might relate them to him; for the courtiers and ministers, for purposes of their own, do not report to the King the whole state of the kingdom, lest any disorder or deficiency which may have found its way into the courts of justice should be corrected.

Merchants and Travellers:

'In the days of Sher Shah and of Islam Shah, the *muqaddams* used to protect the limits of their own villages lest any thief or robber or enemy might injure a traveller, and so be the means of his destruction and death. And he directed his governors and *amils* to compel the people to treat merchants and travellers well in every way, and not to injure them at all; and if a merchant should die by the way, not to stretch out the hand of oppression and violence on his goods as if they were unowned; for Sheikh Nizami (may God be merciful to him!) has said: "If a merchant should die in your country, it is perfidy to lay hands on his property."

1. "These roads and *sarais*," observes Qanungo, "were as it were the arteries of the Empire. They were halting stations for the constantly moving officials; some of them developed into centres of busy market-towns, where the peasants could profitably sell their agricultural produce and get in return little commodities of comfort......

"The *sarais* of Sher Shah were also the stations of *Dak-chauki*. He kept his finger on the pulse of the Empire by means of this institution... This was the origin of the News Department under the *Darogha-i-dak-chauki* appointed by the Mughals. It was first introduced by Sultan Alaud-din Khilji. (By means of this) daily reports of prices and occurrences in the *parganas* of his dominion reached him every day." — (Ibid., pp. 391-95.)

'Throughout his whole kingdom Sher Shah levied customs on merchandise only in two places, *viz*, when it came from Bengal, customs were levied at Gharri (Sikri-gali); and when it came from the direction of Khorasan, the customs were levied on the borders of the kingdom; and again a second duty was levied at the place of sale. No one dared to levy other customs, either on the road or on the ferries, in town or village.[1] Sher Shah, moreover, forbade his officials to purchase anything in the *bazars* except at the usual *bazar* rates and prices.

Protection of Cultivators:

'One of the regulations Sher Shah made was this: That his victorious standards should cause no injury to the cultivation of the people and when he marched he personally examined into the state of the cultivation, and stationed horsemen round to prevent people from trespassing on anyone's field. If he saw any man injuring a field, he would cut off his ears with his own hands, and hanging the corn (which he had plucked off) round his neck, would have him to be paraded through the camp. And if from the narrowness of the road, any cultivation was unavoidably destroyed, he would send *amirs*, with a surveyor, to measure the cultivation so destroyed, and give compensation in money to the cultivators. If he entered an enemy's country, he did not enslave or plunder the peasantry of that country, nor destroy their cultivation. "For," said he, "the cultivators are blameless, they submit to those in power, and if I oppress them they will abandon their villages, and the country will be ruined and deserted, and it will be a long time before it again becomes prosperous."

Charities:

'His kitchen was very extensive, for several thousand horsemen and private followers, fed there; and there was a general order, that if any soldier or religious personage, or any cultivator, should be in need of food, he should feed at the King's kitchen, and should not be allowed to famish. The daily cost of these meals was 500 gold pieces (*ashrafis*). Sher Shah often said: "It is

1. "Sher Shah's reconstruction of the tariff system revived the dwindling commerce of Northern India."—(Ibid., p. 386.)

incumbent upon kings to give grants to *imams*; for the prosperity of and populousness of the cities of Hind are dependent on the *imams* and holy men; and the teachers and travellers, and the necessitous, who cannot come to the King, will praise him, being supported by those who have grants; and the convenience of travellers and the poor is thereby secured, as well as the extension of learning, of skill and religion, for whoever wishes that God Almighty should make him great, should feed the *ulama* and pious persons, that he may obtain honour in this world and felicity in the next."

Buildings:

"Sher Shah left the indelible impress of his personality," writes Qanungo, "not only upon the useful but also on the ornamental side of the imperial edifice. His noble tomb at Sasaram still brings home to the mind of the beholder the grandeur of the Empire,—severe yet graceful; externally Muslim, but Hindu inside."[1] V. A. Smith observes: "The mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sasaram, built on a lofty plinth, in the midst of a lake, is one of the best designed and most beautiful buildings in India unequalled among the earlier buildings in the northern provinces for grandeur and dignity. Cunningham was half inclined to prefer it even to the Taj. The dome, although not equal in size to the Gol Gumbaz of Bijapur, is 13 ft. wider than that of the Agra monument. Externally the architecture is wholly Muhammadan, but Hindu corbelling and horizontal architraves are used in all the inner door-ways, as at Jaunpur. The style may be described as intermediate between the austerity of the Tughlak buildings and the faminine grace of Shah Jahan's masterpiece."[2] Havell saw in it the personality and character of Sher Shah: "Though forbidden by his creed to make himself a graven image, the Musalman monarch took so much interest in the planning of his last resting place, that unconsciously he gave it the impress of his own character, the builders formed it after his own image. ."[3]

1. Ibid., p. 399.
2. *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 405-6.
3. *History of Aryan Rule in India*, p. 444.

"If my life lasts long enough," said Sher Shah, "I will build a fort in every *sarkar*, on a suitable spot, which may in times of trouble become a refuge for the oppressed and a check to the contumacious; and I am making all the earthen-work *sarais* of brick that they also may serve for the protection and safety of the highway." So he built the fort of Rohtas, on the road to Khorasan, to hold in check Kashmir and the country of the Gakkars, about 60 *kos* from Lahore, and fortified and strengthened it exceedingly. There was never seen a place so fortified, and immense sums were expended upon the work. He called that fort *Little Rohtas.*

'The former capital city of Delhi was at a distance from the Jumna, and Sher Shah destroyed and rebuilt it, by the bank of the Jumna, and ordered two forts to be built in that city, with the strength of a mountain, and loftier in height; the smaller fort for the governor's residence; the other, the wall round the entire city, to protect it; and in the governor's fort he built a *jama masjid* of stone, in the ornamenting of which much gold, *lapis lazuli* and other precious articles were expended. But the fortifications round the city were not completed when Sher Shah died.

'He destroyed also the old city of Kanauj, the former capital of the kings of India, and built a fort of burnt brick there; and on the spot where he had gained his victory, he built a city, and called it *Sher Sur*. I can find no satisfactory reason for the destruction of the old city, and the act was very unpopular,' writes Abbas Sarwani.

Epilogue:

'From the day that Sher Shah was established on the throne, no man dared to breathe in opposition to him: nor did any one raise the standard of contumacy or rebellion against him; nor was any heart-tormenting thorn produced in the garden of his kingdom, nor was there any of his nobles or soldiery, or a thief or a robber, who dared to direct the eye of dishonesty to the property of another; nor did any theft or robbery even occur within his dominions. Travellers and wayfarers during the time of Sher Shah's reign were relieved from the trouble of

keeping watch ; nor did they fear to halt even in the midst of a desert : and the *zamindars* for fear lest any mischief should occur to the travellers, and that they should suffer, or be arrested on account of it, kept watch over them. And in the time of Sher Shah's rule, a decrepit old woman might place a basketful of gold ornaments on her head and go on a journey, and no thief or robber would come near her, for fear of the punishment which Sher Shah inflicted. Such a shadow spread over the world, that a decrepit person feared not a Rustom. During his time all quarrelling, disputing, fighting, and turmoil, which is the nature of the Afghans, was altogether quieted and put a stop to, throughout the countries of Roh and of Hindustan. Sher Shah, in his wisdom and experience, was a second Haider. In a very short period, he gained the dominion of the country, and provided for the safety of the highways, the administration of the Government, and the happiness of the soldiery and people. God is a discerner of righteousness !'

So closes Abbas Khan Sarwani's account of Sher Shah. It is well to close our study of the great Afghan with a few modern estimates of him.

SOME MODERN ESTIMATES

E. B. Havell.

"Sher Shah showed brilliant capacity as an organiser, both in military and civil affairs. By dint of indefatigable industry and personal attention to the smallest details of administration, he restored law and order throughout Hindustan in the short space of five years. And no doubt the long-suffering, law-abiding ryot was grateful to the iron-handed Afghan for an interval of comparative peace, and for protection against indiscriminate plunder, though he might sometimes sigh for the golden days when even Sudras were Aryan free-men, and the laws of the village Assemblies were respected even by the King of kings and Supreme Lord of the Five Indies." (*Aryan Rule in India*, pp. 441-42.)

William Erskine.

"He rose to the throne by his own talents, and showed himself worthy of the high elevation which he attained. In intelligence, in sound sense and experience, in his civil and financial arrangements, and in military skill, he is acknowledged to have been by far the most eminent of his nation, who ever ruled in India. . . . . Sher Shah had more of the spirit of the legislator and guardian of his people than any prince before Akbar." —(*History of India*, pp. 441, 443.)

Mountstuart Elphinstone.

"Sher Shah appears to have been a prince of consum mate prudence and ability. His ambition was always too strong for his principles, . . . but towards his subjects, his measures were as benevolent in their intention as wise in their conduct. Notwithstanding his short reign, and constant activity in the field, he brought his territories into the highest order, and he introduced many improvements in his civil government." (*The History of India*, p. 357.)

H. G. Keene.

"His brief career was devoted to the establishment of the unity which he had long ago perceived to be the great need of his country. Though a devout Muslim, he never oppressed his Hindu subjects. His progresses were the cause of good to his people instead of being—as is too often the case in India—the occasions of devastation. . . . It is a welcome task to take note of such things as a break in the long annals of rapine and slaughter, and we can do so without hesitation; for the acts of Sher Shah are attested by his enemies, writing when he was dead, and when his dynasty had passed away for ever." (*History of India*, I pp. 98-9 Rev. ed.)

V. A. Smith.

"Sher Shah was something more than the capable leader of a horde of fierce Afghans. He had a nice taste in architecture, manifested especially in the noble mausoleum at Sasseram (Sahasram) in Bihar which he prepared for himself . . . He also displayed an aptitude for civil government and instituted reforms, which were based to some extent on the institutions of Alauddin Khilji and

were developed by Akbar . . . . He reformed the coinage, issuing an abundance of silver money, excellent in both fineness and execution. That is a good record for a stormy reign of five years. If Sher Shah had been spared he would have established his dynasty, and the 'Great Mughals' would not have appeared on the stage of history." (*The Oxford History of India*, pp. 327–29.)

H. L. O. Garrett.

"Few men have crowded more into the short space of five years than this able and conscientious man." (Edwards and Garrett, *Mughal Rule in India*, p. 18.)

Ishwari Prasad.

"In spite of the limitations which hampered a sixteenth century king in India, he brought to bear upon his task the intelligence, the ability, the devotion of the enlightened despots of the eighteenth century in Europe." (*A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 334.)

Kalikacharan Qanungo.

"The accession of Sher Shah marked the beginning of that era of liberal Islam which lasted till the reaction of Aurangazeb's reign. . . . Sher Shah may justly dispute with Akbar the claim of being the first who attempted to build up an Indian nation . . . . The work of Sher Shah's administrative genius did not perish with his dynasty, but lasted throughout the Mughal period with some inevitable changes due to the greater expansion of the empire. It forms the substratum of our present administrative system. The modern magistrate and collector of British India is the official successor of the *Shiqdar-i-shiqdaran* of Sher Shah, and the *tahsildar* that of the *amil* or *amin* . . . . The revenue and currency systems which prevailed in India with very little modification down to the middle of the XIX century were not the achievements of Akbar but of Sher Shah." (*Sher Shah*, pp. 415, 420, 360, 347.)

Sher Shah's Coinage.

"Sher Shah's reign constituted an important test point in the annals of Indian coinage, not only its specific mint reforms, but also as correcting the progressive deteriorations of the previous

kings, and as introducing these many reforms which the succeeding Mughals claimed as their own."—(Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, p. 403.)

"Sher Shah is entitled to the honour of establishing the reformed system of currency which lasted throughout the Mughal period, was maintained by the East India Company down to 1835, and is the basis of the existing British currency. He finally abolished the inconvenient billon coinage of mixed metal, and struck well-executed pieces in gold, silver, and copper, to a fixed standard of both weight and fineness. His silver rupees, which weigh 180 grains, and contain 175 grains of pure silver, being thus practically equal in value to the modern rupee, often have the king's name in Nagari characters in addition to the usual Arabic inscriptions."—(V. A. Smith, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, ii, pp. 145-6.)

"His coins also illustrate the rapidity with which he conquered the countries settled under his rule. The land survey, construction of roads, and establishment of mint towns seem to follow almost in the wake of his conquering armies."—(Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, p. 383.)

III. SHER SHAH'S SUCCESSORS

Introduction:

The genealogy at the commencement of this chapter gives the names and order of succession of the principal successors of Sher Shah; but, apart from the first, namely Salim or Islam Shah, hardly any interest attaches to the rest. For they were mere rivals fighting over the already broken bits of Sher Shah's kingdom. They have little bearing on the history of the Mughal Empire except as revealing in detail the nature of the situation that enabled Humayun to recover his lost patrimony. Few text-books dealing with the period mention even their names. But, the Sur Inter-regnum, although a mere episode in the history of the Mughals in India, still has a value for us as containing in a nut-shell, as it were, the same lesson that is more elaborately illustrated by our principal theme. As Keene says, "It is the misfortune of absolute monarchy that the best rulers

can never ensure a worthy successor." Sher Shah's sovereignty was assumed by persons who were labouring under the usual trials of princes born for power which they had done nothing to acquire. Sher Shah himself, as we have seen, more than once attributed the loss of Afghan dominion to their dissensions. When the strong hand restraining them was removed, the old contentiousness of the Afghan nobility sprang up again. The whole period of Salim's reign was consumed in intrigues and fruitless quarrels: and on his death in November 1554, his son was murdered and a scene of confusion ensued. "The native Muslims fell into such a state of quarrelsome imbecility that the chief command fell into the hands of a Hindu chandler named Hemu."[1]

(a) SALIM SHAH AND FIROZ SHAH

1. Salim Shah Sur.

Abdulla, author of *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, writes:—'It is related in the *Akbar Shahi*, that when Sher Shah rendered up his life to the angel of death in Kalinjar, . . . the nobles perceived that Adil Khan (Sher Shah's eldest son) would be unable to arrive with speed (from Rantambhor), and as the State required a head, they despatched a person to summon Jalal Khan who was nearer (in the town of Rewan, in the province of Bhata). He reached Kalinjar in five days, and by the assistance of Isa Hajjab and other grandees was raised to the throne near the fort of Kalinjar, on the 15th of the month Rabiul awwal, 952, A. H. (25th May, 1545 A. D.). He assumed the title of Islam Shah, and this verse was engraved on his seal:

"*The world, through the favour of the Almighty, has been rendered happy,*

Since Islam Shah, the son of Sher Shah Sur, has become king."[2]

1. Keene, op. cit., I, p. 99.

2. His fort at Delhi is still called *Salimgarh*; but on his coins he is *Islam Shah*. Ferishta writes, 'Jalal Khan ... ascended the throne,... taking the title of *Islam* Shah, which by false pronunciation is called *Salim* Shah, by which name he is more generally known.'—Briggs, II, pp. 126-27; E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 478-79, n. 1.

'After ascending the throne,' continues Abdulla, 'and inquiring concerning the ordinances of Sher Shah, he left some as they were, and changed others to suit his own ideas.' He was an improver, like his father, observes Elphinstone, "but rather in public works than in laws."[1] Other writers look upon his regulations as "silly and nonsensical, devised chiefly with the object of reversing his father's policy, and establishing a name for himself as a legislator. Islam Shah was desirous of showing the world that he also had 'his own thunder'."[2] But a statement of these reforms and enactments will speak for itself. Badauni, whose account is given below, says, 'These rules were in force till the end of the reign of Salim Shah, and the compiler of this history (*Tarikh-i-Badauni*) witnessed the scene above described, when he was of tender age, that is, in the year 955 A. H., when he accompanied his maternal grandfather (may God extend His grace to him!) to the camp of Farid Taran, commander of 5,000 horse which was then pitched in the district of Bajwara, a dependency of Bayana.'

Salim Shah's Regulations:

'Salim Shah in the beginning of his reign issued orders that as the *sarais* of Sher Shah were two miles distant from one another, one of similar form should be built between them for the convenience of the public; and that a mosque and a reservoir should be attached to them, and that vessels of water and of victuals, cooked and uncooked, should be always kept in readiness for the entertainment of Hindu, as well as Muhammadan travellers. In one of his orders he directed that all the *madad-ma'sh* and *aima* tenures in Hindustan which Sher Shah had granted, and all the *sarais* which he had built and the gardens he had laid out, should not be alienated, and that no change should be made in their limits.

'He took away from the nobles all the dancing-girls maintained in their courts, according to the common practice of India. He also took from them all their elephants, and let

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 459.
2. E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 480 n. 2.

none of them retain more than a sorry female, adapted only for carrying baggage. It was enacted that red tents should be in the exclusive use of the sovereign. He resumed and placed under immediate management of the State, the lands enjoyed by the troops, and established pecuniary payments in lieu, according to the rates fixed by Sher Shah.

'Circular orders were issued through the proper channels to every district, touching on matters religious, political, and fiscal, in all their most minute bearings, and containing rules and regulations, which concerned not only the army, but cultivators, merchants, and persons of other professions, and which were to serve as guides to the officials of the State, *whether they were in accordance with the Muhammadan law or not*; a measure which obviated the necessity of referring any of these matters to *Kazis* and *Muftis*.

'In order that these circular instructions might be fully comprehended, the nobles in command of 5, 10, or 20 thousand horse, were ordered to assemble every Friday in a large tent, within which was placed, on an elevated chair, a pair of Salim Shah's slippers, and a quiver full of arrows. They then bowed down before the chair, one by one, according to their respective ranks; first of all the officer in command of the troops, and then the *munsif*, or *amin*, and so on; after which with due respect and obeisance, they took their respective seats, when a secretary coming forward read to them the whole of the circular instructions above referred to, which filled about 80 sheets of paper. Every difficult point then at issue within the province was decided according to its purport. If any of the nobles committed an act in contravention of these orders, it was reported to the King, who forthwith passed orders directing proper punishment to be inflicted on the offender, as well as on his family.'[1]

Character of Administration.

The real character of Salim Shah's administration is perhaps best represented by the author of the *Tarikh-i-Daudi*: 'Islam Shah', writes Abdulla, 'resembled his father in his pomp

1. Ibid., V, pp. 486-87.

and splendour, and in his desire for dominion and conquest. He possessed great power, ability and good fortune, and he had an immense number of horses and elephants, and a numerous artillery, together with a multitude of horse and foot soldiers beyond all calculation. On the day of his accession to the throne, he ordered two months' pay to be distributed in ready money to the army: one month of this he gave them as a present; the other as subsistence money.[1] Moreover, he resumed all the *jagirs* in the provinces of his government, and allowed their holders a stipend in money from his treasury instead. To those who had received stipends during the reign of Sher Shah he gave lands and *parganas*. During the time of Sher Shah, a place had always been established in the royal camp for the distribution of alms to the poor. Instead of this, Islam Shah directed that arrangements for the giving of alms should be made at each of the *sarais*, and that indigent travellers should be supplied with whatever they needed, and that mendicants should receive a daily pittance, in order that they might be contented and at peace. He had, whilst Prince, 6,000 horsemen with him, and he now promoted all of them: He made privates officers, and officers nobles. These regulations of Islam Shah caused those of Sher Shah to fall into disuse. Many of Sher Shah's principal nobles were disgusted at what they regarded as acts tending to dishonour them, and became ill-disposed towards Islam Shah. He, in his turn, was likewise suspicious of these grandees, and thus *the relations which existed between the great chiefs and the King were changed in their nature*.'[2]

Revolts and Disturbances:

'Islam Shah was a monarch of treacherous and vindictive disposition. When he secured power in his own hands, he dissimulated loyalty to his elder brother, Adil Khan, who had been nominated Sher Shah's heir-apparent. "Because I was near

1. This was more than counter-balanced by long arrears of pay later on; e. g. see Ibid., p. 489.

2. Ibid., IV, pp. 479-80.

and you were distant," he wrote to Adil Khan, "to prevent disorder in the State, I have taken charge of the army until your arrival. I have nothing to do but obey you, and attend to your orders." (How like Aurangazeb later on!) His real object was to get rid of his brother during the perfidious interview for which he soon summoned him.

Adil Khan proceeded to meet his brother after being doubly assured as to his safety. 'Islam Shah, intending treachery towards his brother, had given directions that only two or three persons were to be allowed to enter the fort with Adil Khan. When they arrived at the gate of the fort of Agra, Islam Shah's men forbade their entry; to this Adil Khan's people paid no attention, and a great number of them went in with Adil Khan!' Ahmad Yadgar says, five or six thousand of Adil Khan's men, armed with swords, forced their way into the fort, in defiance of all attempts to exclude them.[1]

Adil Khan was a man who loved ease and comfort. He was aware of the deceit and cunning of Islam Shah. So he preferred to retire to the *jagir* of Bayana, which was assigned to him. Even there he was not allowed to be at peace. Islam Shah made an attempt to secure his person. 'The latter however,' says Ferishta, 'having timely information of the design, fled to Mewat, where Khawas Khan then resided, and acquainted that chief, with tears in his eyes, of his brother's baseness. Khawas Khan, whose honour was concerned, roused with indignation, seized Ghazi Mahally (Islam Shah's agent), and went into open rebellion. Khawas Khan's character was so high, that by writing letters to the nobles of the court, he gained many partisans, and accompanied by the prince Adil Khan, he marched towards Agra ..... (But) although his troops behaved with great bravery, he was overthrown by Salim Shah. After the action, the prince Adil Khan fled, in the first instance, to Patna; but, soon after disappearing, was never again heard of; the insurgent chiefs

1. Ibid., pp. 481-82.

were obliged to retreat among the Kumaon hills, but only for a time.'[1]

'After these events, Islam Shah became mistrustful of all his nobles, and took measures to overthrow them. He put some of them in prison and deprived others of all their possessions. He also placed his own nephew, Mahmud Khan, the son of Adil Khan, under surveillance, and ruined, first Kutb Khan Sur, then Barmazid Sur, Jalal Khan Sur, and Zain Khan Niazi. He slew Jalal Khan Sur, as well as his brother, by binding them to the feet of an elephant, after which he caused the aforesaid nobles to be placed on the elephant, and paraded through the camp. The hearts of the nobles of Sher Shah were filled with terror and consternation. After this he put many others to death, amongst whom was Khawas Khan, who bore the title of Masnad Ali, who was impaled on some frivolous pretext. He continued for a long time to distress the whole of his subjects, and to make God's servants miserable; but towards the end of his reign he behaved towards the people with liberality and generosity.'[2]

Conclusion.

What has been said should suffice to illustrate the character of Salim Shah's reign. There were other rebellions and disturbances, principally of the Niazis under Azam Humayun, and the Gakkars under Sultan Adam Gakkar (who delivered Kamran into the hands of Humayun). To the last, Salim Shah was engaged in reducing these disorders. In the course of these troubled years, more than one attempt was made on his life. 'Certain nobles desired to place Mubariz Khan, (who possessed the title of Adali) on the throne.'[3] As the rebellious Niazis declared: "*No one obtains a kingdom by inheritance; it belongs to whoever can gain it by the sword.*"[4] 'Islam Shah was informed of the treason of these people, and immediately endeavoured to

1. Briggs, II, pp. 129-31.
2. E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 485.
3. Ibid., p. 496.
4. Ibid., p. 487.

assemble them in one place, and there punish them. The chiefs being warned of his intention, met together, and entered into an agreement not to present themselves at the *darbar* all at once, but to go one by one. Islam Shah was day and night thinking and planning how he might best put them to death. But the decrees of Providence do not change to suit human wishes and counsels, and he was suddenly taken ill and confined to bed in the fort of Gwalior (which had been long his favourite residence)..... He summoned (his wife) Bibi Bai, and said, "I have the reins still in my hands, and have as yet lost nothing. If you desire your son to reign after me, tell me to do it, and I will cause your brother Mubariz Khan to be removed." On this Bibi Bai began to weep. Islam Shah said, "You know best!" And then suddenly as he was speaking, he gave up the ghost in the twinkling of an eye, and departed to the next world in the year 961 A. H. (November, 1554). Many of the troops who were not aware of the King's illness, on receiving the unexpected intelligence of his decease, were much perturbed and distressed, as it threw their affairs into confusion. His body was taken from Gwalior, and deposited at Sasaram, near that of his father.'[1]

2. Firoz Shah Sur:

Ferishta narrates the sequel thus:—Salim Shah 'was succeeded by his son, the Prince Firoz, then twelve years of age, who was placed on the throne by the chiefs of the tribe of Sur at Gwalior. He had not reigned three days, when Mubariz Khan, the son of Nizam Khan Sur (Sher Shah's brother—see Genealogy), at once the nephew of the late Sher Shah, and brother-in-law of Salim Shah, assassinated the young Prince, and ascending the throne, assumed the title of Mahmud Shah Adil.. .. On the third day after the death of Salim Shah, Mubariz Khan, having entered the female apartments, slew with his own hand the unhappy Prince, whom he dragged from the arms of his mother, Bibi Bai, his own sister.' When her husband had always insisted upon getting rid of her brother, Mubariz Khan being too dangerous for the Prince, she had

1. Ibid., pp. 504-5.

always replied, "My brother is too fond of dissipation and pleasure to encumber himself with the load of anxiety which belongs to a King."[1] But the decrees of Providence do not change to suit human wishes and counsels!'

The Mahdi Episode:

Among the forces that created disturbance in the reign of Islam Shah, one deserves special and separate treatment; it is with regard to a peculiar religious movement led by one Sheikh Alai. Its doctrines as well as the religious aspects of the reigns of the first two Surs will be recalled with interest when we consider the subject of Akbar's religious reforms. 'Among the most extraordinary events of this reign,' writes Ferishta, 'is the insurrection produced by Sheikh Alai. The story is as follows:—

'The father of Sheikh Alai was Sheikh Hasan, who professed himself to be a holy man in the town of Bayana; but he adopted opposite tenets to those of Sheikh Salim of Sikri. Sheikh Hasan dying was succeeded by his eldest son, Sheikh Alai, a person as remarkable for his ambition as for his learning. He imbibed the *Mahdi* or *Mahdavi* doctrines of Saiyid Muhammad Jaunpuri, and with a considerable number of adherents, abandoning all worldly pursuits, gave himself up wholly to devotion, under the firm conviction of predestination. He preached daily with such persuasive eloquence, that many persons, becoming riveted to the spot, would not quit him, and abandoning their families became converts to his doctrines, and ranged themselves among the disciples of Saiyid Muhammad Jaunpuri, the founder of the sect; so that in some instances, men employed in agriculture or trade made vows to devote one-tenth of their receipts to charity and to religious purposes. Several instances happened where fathers abandoned their children, sons their fathers, husbands their wives, and wives their husbands, and devoted themselves to worship and retirement from the world; it being a principle among the sect to divide in common among their brethren all they possessed or received in charity. In cases where the members of the sect got nothing for two or three days, they have been known

1. Briggs, II, pp. 141-142.

to fast, resigning themselves entirely to their fate without complaint. It was their practice to go armed, and in every instance where they saw any person doing what they considered contrary to the holy law, they warned him to abstain; but if he persisted, they used to attack and put him or them to death. Many of the magistrates, themselves being *Mahdavis*, connived at these proceedings, and those who even did not approve, were afraid to check and to punish them.'[1]

When Sheikh Alai went to Khawaspur, which is in the Jodhpur territory, Khawas Khan came to meet him, and joined him. 'When Islam Shah heard of these events, he summoned him (Alai) to his presence. The Sheikh perceived that the King was attended by a select party of his nobles; nevertheless, he did not behave as it is becoming to do in the presence of royalty. He merely made the customary salutation, at which the King was displeased. The courtiers were very wrath at this conduct. Mulla Abdulla Sultanpuri, who was entitled Makhdumu-l Mulk, opposed the doctrines of Sheikh Alai, and decreed that he should be imprisoned. Islam Shah assembled a great number of the learned, and directed them to enquire into the matter. Sheikh Alai's great eloquence enabled him to overcome all his opponents in argument. Islam Shah said, "O Sheikh, forsake this mode of procedure in order that I may appoint you (*muhtasib*) Censor of Morals of all my dominions. Up to the present time, you have taken upon yourself to forbid without my authority; henceforth you will do so with my consent. Sheikh Alai would not agree to this. When he was sent to Hindia, Bihar Khan Sarwani joined him with all his troops. Islam Shah again summoned the Sheikh from Hindia, and this time ordered a larger assembly of Mullas than the former to meet and investigate his doctrines. Makhdumu-l Mulk said, "This man desires to rule the country, he wishes to attain the rank of *Mahdi*, and the *Mahdi* is to rule the whole world. The entire army of His Majesty has taken part with him; it is very likely that in a short time this country will be much

1. Briggs, II, pp. 138-39.

injured." Islam Shah, for the second time sent Sheikh Alai into Bihar. There Sheikh Alai fell ill. When they brought him before Islam Shah he was too weak to speak. Islam Shah whispered in his ear, and advised him to confess that he was not the *Mahdi*, in order that he might be pardoned; but Sheikh Alai would not listen to what the King said. His Majesty, losing all hope of persuading him, ordered him to be scourged, and he rendered up his soul to the angel of death at the third blow, in the year 956 A.H.(1549 A.D.). It is commonly reported that Sheikh Alai repeated a stanza in the presence of Islam Shah, and said, "If you desire to comprehend my motives for these actions, meditate on this verse of Sheikh Auhadu-d din Kirmani:

"*I have one soul and a thousand bodies,*
But both soul and bodies belong entirely to me.
It is strange I have made myself another."[1]

"The doctrine of the expected *Mahdi*, is based on certain alleged prophecies of the Prophet regarding the advent of a *mujaddid*, or restorer of the faith. The movement seems to have had its origin in Badakshan, beyond Afghanistan, and to have spread from there over Persia and India. The doctrine was closely connected with the completion of the first thousand years of the Muslim era, so that in the last century preceding the close of the first millennium, the learned everywhere in India were discussing the question. Finally, the movement took on a definite form through the teaching of one Mir Saiyid Muhammad of Jaunpur, in the latter part of the 15th century A. D.

"The *Mahdi* movements have been characterized by features that are significant. They have been led by men of education, who have possessed great oratorical power as preachers, and could draw multitudes to them. Secondly, they assumed a definitely hostile attitude towards the learned men who held office at the Emperor's court. Thirdly, they undertook to be reformers of Islam, being *mujaddids*."[2]

1. E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 502-4.
2. Titus, *Indian Islam*, pp. 106-9.

(b) THREE KINGS

1. Mahmud Shah Adali.

Mubariz, after the murder of his nephew, ascended the throne of Sher Shah and assumed the title of Mahmud Shah Adil. But his character soon changed his self-styled epithet of *Adil* (the just), into first, *Adali* (the foolish), and the ninto *Andhali* (blind). Elphinstone remarks, "His character was not such as to efface the memory of his crime ; he was grossly ignorant, fond of coarse debauchery and low society, and as despicable from his incapacity as he was odious for his vices."[1] One illustration from Ferishta may be here cited :—'Having often heard much in praise of the munificence of former kings, particularly of Mahomed Tughlak, and mistaking prodigality for liberality, he opened the treasury, and lavished riches on all ranks without distinction. As he rode out he discharged amongst the multitude golden-headed arrows, which sold for ten or twelve rupees each. This wanton extravagance soon left him without any of the treasure of his predecessors.'[2] When he had nothing of his own to give, he resumed the governments and *jagirs* of his nobles, and bestowed them on his favourites;[3] 'among whom, one Hemu, a Hindu shop-keeper, whom his predecessor, Salim Shah, had made superintendent of the markets, was entrusted with the whole administration of affairs. The King in the meantime, heedless of what passed, spent his time in excess among the inmates of his harem. This naturally created him enemies among the Afghan chiefs, who, having conspired against his life, revolted from his authority. The King became daily more and more despicable in the eyes of his subjects, while all regularity in the Government ceased.'[4]

2. Ibrahim Khan Sur.

Under these chaotic circumstances, the more ambitious among the nobles and princes tried to feather each his own nest. Taj Khan Kirani, for instance, openly declared, "that affairs had

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 460.
2. Briggs, II, p. 144.
3. Elphinstone, loc. cit., p. 461.
4. Briggs, loc. cit.

taken such an extraordinary turn at Court , that he was determined to push his own fortune". His rebellion obliged the King to take the field in person, and go in his pursuit towards Chunar. Taking this opportunity, Ibrahim Khan, the King's cousin and brother-in-law, 'raised a considerable army, and getting possession of the city of Delhi, ascended the throne, and assumed the ensigns of royalty. From thence he marched to Agra, and reduced the circumjacent provinces. . . Mahmud Shah Adali, finding himself betrayed, fled to Chunar, and contented himself with the government of the eastern provinces, while Ibrahim Khan retained possession of the western territory.'[1]

3. Sikandar Shah Sur.

Ibrahim Khan no sooner ascended the throne of Delhi than another competitor arose in the Punjab in the person of the Prince Ahmad Khan, another nephew of the late Sher Shah, whose sister was married to Mahmud Shah Adali. Ahmad Khan, having procured the aid of Haibat Khan and other chiefs, who had been created nobles by the late Salim Shah, assumed the title of Sikandar Shah, and marching with 10 or 12 thousand horse towards Agra, encamped at Kurra, within twenty miles of that city. Ibrahim Khan opposed him with 70,000 horse, but nevertheless was defeated. He then, abandoning his capital, retreated to Sambhal, while Sikandar Khan took possession both of Delhi and Agra. He had not long enjoyed his good fortune, however, when Humayun advanced into the Punjab to recover his dominion, with what consequence we have already witnessed. After his defeat at Sirhind he fled to the Siwalik mountains, from whence he was expelled, and sought refuge in Bengal, where he assumed the reins of government, and shortly after died.[2]

(c) FAILURE OF THE SUR DYNASTY

A last flicker of hope had been roused among the Afghans, when Sikandar, having ascended the throne at Agra,

1. Briggs, II, pp. 146-47.
2. Ibid., p. 153.

held a magnificent festival, and calling together all his chiefs, spoke to this effect :—" I esteem myself as one of you : having thus far acted for the commonweal, I claim no superiority. Bahlol raised the tribe of Lodi to glory and reputation ; Sher Shah rendered the tribe of Sur illustrious ; and now Humayun the Mughal, heir to his father's conquests, is watching an opportunity to destroy us all, and re-establish his government. If, therefore, you are sincere, and will set aside private faction and animosities, we may still retain our kingdom ; but if you think me incapable of rule, let an abler head and a stonger arm be elected from among you, that I also may swear allegiance to him : I promise most faithfully to support him, and will endeavour to maintain the kingdom in the hands of the Afgans, who have retained it by their valour for so many years." The Afghan chiefs, after this appeal, answered with one accord : " We unanimously acknowledge you, the nephew of our Emperor Sher Shah, our lawful sovereign." Calling then for the Koran, all swore both to observe allegiance to Sikandar, and to maintain unanimity among themselves.' But, in a few days, Ferishta tells us, 'the chiefs began to dispute about governments, honours, and places, and the flames of discord were rekindled, and blazed fiercer than ever, so that every one reproached his neighbour with the perfidy of which each was equally guilty.'[1]

The other members of the Sur family did not fare better than Sikandar. When he was fighting against the Mughals, the other Surs, instead of joining hands with him to repel their common enemy, were fighting among themselves. Ibrahim Khan marched to Kalpi, while at the same time Mahmud Shah Adali detached his vizier Hemu, with an army well appointed in cavalry, elephants, and artillery, from Chunar, with a view to recover the western Empire. Hemu attacked Ibrahim Shah at Kalpi, and having defeated him, he was compelled to fly to his father (Ghazi Khan) at Bayana, pursued by Hemu who besieged him in that city for three months. Meanwhile, the ruler of Bengal—also a Sur—led his

1. Briggs, II, p. 153.

army against Adali and obliged Hemu to return hastily. Emboldened by this Ibraim pursued him to Agra; but being again defeated once more retired to Bayana. After some adventures in Bundelkhand, which had become independent under Baz Bahadur, he fled to Orissa, where he suffered an ignominious death during the reign of Akbar. Mahomed Shah Sur of Bengal took refuge in Bundelkhand, but being pursued by Hemu was soon slain. 'Mahmud Shah Adali, after this victory, instead of proceeding to Agra, returned to Chunar, to assemble more troops in order to carry on the war against Humayun; but he was soon after informed of that monarch's death, which induced him to detach Hemu, with 50,000 horse, and 500 elephants towards Agra, not daring to leave Chunar himself, on account of the faction which prevailed among his countrymen the Afghans.' [1] The rest of the story belongs naturally to the reign of Akbar. After the defeat and death of Hemu, Mahmud Shah's fortunes declined rapidly. Khizr Khan, the next ruler of Bengal, avenged himself for his father's death, by wresting a great part of the eastern provinces out of the hands of Adali, whom he eventually defeated and slew.

This sudden and sharp denoument of the promising and glorious epoch, opened by the dramatic successes of Sher Shah, appears to have been equally marked by a sad and devastating famine. Badauni gives the following description of the plight of the people who had already suffered enough from the chaotic conditions incidental to constant warfare :—'At this time a dreadful famine raged in the eastern provinces, especially in Agra, Bayana, and Delhi, so that one *seer* of grain (*juwari*) rose to 2½ *tankas*, and even at that price could not be obtained. Many of the faithful closed their doors, and died by tens and twenties, and even in greater numbers, and found neither coffin nor grave. Hindus perished in the same numbers. The common people fed upon the seeds of the thorny *acacia* upon dry herbage of the forest, and on the hides of the cattle which the wealthy slaughtered and sold. After a few days, swellings

1. Ibid., pp. 148-51.

rose on their hands and feet, so that they died, and the date is represented by the words *khashm-i-izad:* "wrath of God." The author with his own eyes witnessed the fact that men ate their own kind, and the appearance of the famished sufferers was so hideous that one could scarcely look upon them. What with scarcity of rain, the famine and the desolation, and what with uninterrupted warfare for two years, the whole country was a desert, and no husbandmen remained to till the ground. Insurgents also plundered the cities.'[1]

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 490-91.

AUTHORITIES

A. PRIMARY : (i) The *Ain-i Akbari*, by Abu-l Fazl Allami—translated from the original Persian; vol. i, Calcutta, 1873, by H. Blochmann, contains biographies of officials, compiled from various sources; vol. ii, 1891, and vol. iii, 1894, by H. S. Jarrett (include 'The Happy Sayings of His Majesty'). The whole is invaluable for the account of Akbar's administrative system.

(ii) *The Akbar-Nama* or 'History of Akbar,' by Abu-l Fazl, translated from the Persian, by Henry Beveridge. It comes down to the early part of 1602, or the end of the 46th year of Akbar's reign. It was brought to an abrupt close by the murder of its author in that year. "The historical matter in Abul Fazl's book," observes V. A. Smith, "is buried in a mass of tedious rhetoric, and the author, an unblushing flatterer of his hero, sometimes conceals, or even deliberately perverts, the truth (*e. g.*, the dating of Akbar's birth with the story of his naming; and the account of the capitulation of Asirgarh). Nevertheless, the *Akbar-Nama*, notwithstanding its grave and obvious faults, must be treated as the foundation for a history of Akbar's reign. Its chronology is more accurate and detailed than that of the rival books by Nizamu-d din and Badauni, and it brings the story on to a later date than they do."

(iii) The *Tarikh-i Badauni* or *Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh* (tr., E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 428–549) has already been noticed. Smith says, "Badauni's interesting work contains so much hostile criticism of Akbar that it was kept concealed during that Emperor's life-time, and could not be published until after Jahangir's accession. The book being written from the point of view taken by a bigoted Sunni, ... gives information. . . . which is not to be found in the other Persian histories, but agrees generally with the testimony of the Jesuit authors." However, it is needless to add, it must be used with great caution.

(iv) The *Tabakat-i Akbari*, by Nizamu-d din Ahmad, (also called *Tarikh-i Nizami*) has also been already noticed. It comes down only to the 39th year of Akbar's reign, A. D. 1593-4 (A. H. 1002). The author, Khwaja Nizamu-d din Ahmad was the Chief Bakshi under Akbar, and died at Lahore in Oct. 1594. "The book," says Smith, "is a dry, colourless chronicle of external events...It omits all mention of many matters of importance, and needs to be cautiously read ...The book was much used by Ferishta and later compilers, and in its jejune way is a particularly good specimen of Muslim chronicle-writing."

(v) *Ferishta*, already noticed. He was also called Muhammad Kasim Hindu Shah, and was born about A. D. 1570. Smith considers Briggs' the best translation (*History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, 1829)— Calcutta ed. 1908, vol. ii, pp. 181-282. 'Briggs represents his original with freedom, but in the main, as far as I have seen, with truth.' (Jarrett). Ferishta based his work on earlier books like the *Tabakat-i Akbari*, on tradition, and on personal experience. "He is generally considered the best of the Indian compilers....His account of Akbar's reign has little independent value, although, so far as the later years are concerned, he wrote as a contemporary who had taken a small personal share in the Emperor's transactions in the Deccan." (Smith).

(vi) *Various other works*, extracts from which are to be found in translation in E. & D., op. cit., vols. V and VI, may be only briefly noticed here. They are—

1. The *Wikaya*, or *Halat-i Asad Beg*, an interesting and candid account of the later years of Akbar's reign, by an official who had been long in Abu-l Fazl's service.—E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 150-74.

2. The *Zubdatu-t Tawarikh*, by Shaikh Nuru-l Hakk—includes the only distinct notice given by any Muhammadan historian of the terrible famine which desolated N. India for three or four years from A. D. 1595 to 1598.—Ibid. pp. 189-94.

3. The *Tarikh-i Alfi*, compiled by Maulana Ahmad and others, by Akbar's order issued in 1582 (A. H. 990)—includes description of the sieges of Chitor and Rantambhor.—Ibid., V., pp. 157-76.

4. The *Akbar-Nama*, by Sheikh Illahadad Faizi Sirhindi—contains the official version of the fall of Asirgarh.—Ibid., VI, pp. 116-46.

5. The *Tarikh-i Salatin-i Afghana*, written about 1595, by Ahmad Yadgar, is a good authority for the battle of Panipat (1556) and the connected events up to the death of Hemu.—Ibid., V, pp. 58-66.

6. The *Wakiat*, by Abu-l Faizi, the elder brother of Abu-l Fazl—contains a letter concerning negotiations with the Deccan states.—Ibid., VI, pp. 147-49.

7. The *Tuzak-i Jahangiri* or *Memoirs* of Jahangir etc.—Ibid., pp. 256-452.

8. The *Ma'asiri Jahangiri*, by Khwaja Kamgar Ghairat Khan, a contemporary official—contains the proceedings of Jahangir previous to his accession.—Ibid., pp. 441-44.

JESUIT SOURCES

It is not possible here to give even a mere catalogue of all the Jesuit authorities, which are to be found in many European languages, some published, many awaiting publication. The few that are named below are those most frequently cited, and considered indispensable for a study of particularly Jesuit relations with the Great Mughal. For a more detailed account of these sources, the reader is directed to V. A. Smith's *Akbar the Great Mogul*, Bibliography, pp. 466-71 ; and Sir Edward Maclagan's more recent (1932) work *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, Ch. I, pp. 5-19.

(i) The earliest printed authority for the Missions, Smith points out, with the exception of the *Aunuæ Literae* for 1582-3 in the British Museum, is the very rare little tract in Italian by John Baptist Peruschi. It was printed at Rome in 1597, and later French, German, and Latin translations also appeared.

(ii) The chief of the Jesuit histories, bearing on the subject of the Missions, Maclagan says, is that by Father Guzman, (written in Spanish) based on (a) published works; (b) letters from the Fathers; and (c) personal enquiries. It brings the story up to 1599. It was first published in 1601. "This history constitutes an excellent authority." (Maclagan)

(iii) Father Guerreiro's Portuguese work "is for practical purposes a continuation of Guzman's history, and is, like that work, an authority of high importance." It covers the period from 1600 to 1608, and was published in five volumes. "The book is a rare one, but copies of all five volumes are in the British Museum." (Ibid.)

(iv) "All writers on the subject of the Jesuit Mission," says Smith, "must rely chiefly on the great work by Father Pierre du Jarric. . . . Du Jarric is a throughly conscientious and accurate writer who reproduces faithfully the substance of the original letters of which considerable portions remain unpublished." The original French edition published in 1611 brings the narrative down to 1600. Its third part, which is very valuable, was published in 1614. It contains "the true account of the fall of Asirgarh, hitherto unnoticed by modern historians, with one partial exception, and presents the most authentic existing narrative of the Emperor's last days, and fixes the date of his death as October 27, new style, or October 17th, old style." (Smith)

(v) "One of the most useful Jesuit publications, and one slightly more accessible than most of the others, is the compilation by Father Daniel Bartoli, S. J., originally printed in 1663. It gives a long list of early authorities on the life of Aquaviva. It does not deal with the later Missions. It is based on the writings of Monserrate, Peruschi, and others and is well written." (Ibid.)

OTHER EUROPEANS

(i) "The only lay European traveller known to have visited Akbar's dominions, and to have recorded his impressions to any considerable length is Ralph Fitch, who left England in

1583 and returned in 1591. . . . Fitch proceeded to Bengal, Burma, and other lands, which he described in meagre notes." His account is found in '*Ralph Fitch, England's Pioneer to India, etc.*' (Unwin, London, 1899)

(ii) For other travellers and writers, who really refer to times following the death of Akbar, and contain no first-hand impressions of the Emperor, see Smith, op. cit., Bibliography, pp. 471-76. He deals with Purchas, Terry, Roe, De Laet, Herbert, Manrique, Mandelslo, Bernier, and Manucci.

B. SECONDARY: (i) *The Emperor Akbar*, by Annette Beveridge is a translation of the German '*Kaisar Akbar*' by Von Noer; but with additions, corrections, and notes (Calcutta, Thacker, 1890). It is the only considerable modern work, says Smith, devoted solely to Akbar's reign, and in spite of its many defects is of value.

(ii) *The Parsees at the Court of Akbar, and Dastur Meherjee Rana*, by the late Dr. J. J. Modi (Bombay, 1903) is a fully documented discussion of Akbar's relations with the Parsees.

(iii) *The Army of the Indian Mughals, Its Organisation and Administration*, by William Irvine (Luzac, 1903). It "is an extremely careful although dry presentation of the subject, based on close study of a large number of Persian works, printed and manuscript. Irvine's book gives all the essential information about the army of Akbar, and is indispensable for a right understanding of the *mansabdar* system." (Smith)

(iv) *Akbar and the Jesuits*, by C. H. Payne (1916) contains a translation of Du Jarric with valuable notes, and covers the period down to the death of Akbar, 1605.

(v) *Mughal Administration*, by Jadunath Sarkar (Calcutta, 2nd ed., 1924).

(vi) *Akbar*, by Col. G. B. Malleson (Oxford, 1908).

(vii) *Akbar the Great Mogul*, by V. A. Smith (Oxford, 1917).

(viii) *Akbar*, by Lawrence Binyon (Peter Davies, London, 1932)—though not an authority is an interesting

work, more sympathetic and fair to its subject than many another.

(ix) *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, by Sir Edward Maclagan (Burns Oates, London, 1932) is the most recent and exhaustive study of the subject it deals with.

Note.—For other sources like literature, art, numismatics, etc., see Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, pp. 481-86. Also ib. pp. 1-7, for a more succinct and appreciative statement of all the sources.

GENEALOGY

Mah Begam | HUMAYUN | *Hamida Begam*

Muhammad Hakim | Jalalu-d din Muhammad AKBAR |

Jodh Bai (1)

Salima Begam (2) — Salim (Jahangir)

Murad

Daulat Shah (3) — Daniyal

Note.—Akbar had other wives and children, but they are not relevant here.

CHAPTER V

RESTORATION OF EMPIRE

"Akbar has always appeared to me among sovereigns what Shakespeare was among poets."—SIR WILLIAM SLEEMAN.

"The competent scholar who will undertake the exhaustive treatment of the life and reign of Akbar will be in possession of perhaps the finest great historical subject as yet unappropriated." —V. A. SMITH.

1. PRINCIPAL EVENTS (1556-1605)

(a) Birth and Accession.

i. We have already taken note of the following statement by Nizamu-d din Ahmad regarding the birth of Akbar:—

'Fortune now for a time changed its treatment of the Emperor (Humayun), by giving him a son, and impressing an imperishable mark upon the page of time. The child was born on the 5th Rajab, 949 (15th October, 1542).[1] Tardi Beg Khan conveyed this intelligence to the

1. V. A. Smith gives a slightly different date: "The child having been born on the night of the full moon (Shaban 14, A. H. 949), equivalent to Thursday, November 23, 1542, the happy father conferred on the son the name or title Badru-d din, meaning 'the Full Moon of Religion', coupled with Muhammad, the name of the Prophet, and Akbar, signifying 'very great'." (*Akbar*, p. 14.) He also makes the following observation with regard to the place of Akbar's birth:—"*Umar-kot*, the fort of Umar or Omar, a chief of the Sumra tribe. The place, situated in 25 "21 'N. and 69" 46' E., is now a town with about 5,000 inhabitants, the head-quarters of the Thar and Parkar District, Sind. Many Persian and English authors write the name erroneously as Amarkot, with various corruptions as if derived from the Hindi word *amar*, meaning 'immortal' a frequent element in Hindu names." (Ibid. p. 13 n. 2).

Emperor in the neighbourhood of Amarkot, and the Emperor under spiritual guidance, . . gave to the child the name of Jalalu-d din Muhammad Akbar.'

Humayun, who was a pious man, when he heard of the birth of his son, appears (on the testimony of Jauhar, his personal attendant) to have broken a pod of musk (the only precious thing he could get in his exile in the desert) on a china plate, and 'distributed it among all the principal persons, saying: "This is all the present I can afford to make you on the birth of my son, whose fame will, I trust, be one day expanded all over the world, as the perfume of the musk now fills this apartment."[1]

ii. We have also noted how Prince Akbar was left behind in Kandahar, when Humayun left for Persia in quest of fortune, how he was picked up by his uncle Askari, and brought up for about a year by Sultan Begam 'who treated him with great tenderness'; and how, in the course of Humayun's fight with Kamran, the little Prince was threatened to be exposed to the fire of the guns on the battlements of the Kabul fort.

iii. The next we heard of Prince Akbar was after the death of his uncle Hindal, when Razia Sultana, Hindal's daughter, was given in marriage to him, and Akbar was put in charge of Hindal's command and the government of Ghazni.

iv. Lastly, we noted how he followed his father in his attempted reconquest of Hindustan, in which the great victory at Sirhind was ascribed to the presence of Prince Akbar in their midst. 'Under his (Humayun's) orders a despatch of the victory was drawn, in which the honour of the victory was ascribed to Prince Akbar, and this was circulated in all directions.'

v. After this victory at Sirhind, Sultan Sikandar Sur fled to the Siwalik mountains. Mir Abdul Ma'ali who had been sent in pursuit of him, having failed, Sikandar 'daily

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 15.

grew stronger. This came to the knowledge of the Emperor, who immediately sent Bairam Khan in attendance upon Prince Akbar as his *atalik* or governor, to put an end to Sikandar's operation.'[1]

vi. When Akbar was engaged in these operations, occurred the sudden illness and death of Humayun. 'Shaikh Juli was sent to the Punjab to summon Prince Akbar....Shaikh Juli...obtained an interview with the Prince Akbar at Kalanor. He communicated the fact of the King's illness; and intelligence of his death soon after arrived. After due observance of the rites of mourning, the nobles who were in the suite of the Prince, under the leading of Bairam Khan, acknowledged the succession of the Prince, and so, on the 2nd Rabi'u-s sani, he ascended the throne of Empire at Kalanor.'[2] Further on, the same writer (Nizamu-d din Ahmad) tells us, 'Bairam Khan, commander-in-chief, with the concurrence of the nobles and officers, raised His Highness to the throne in the town of Kalanor at noon-day of Friday, the 2nd of Rabi'u-s sani 963 H., (Feb. 14, 1556) with all due state and ceremony, and letters of grace and favour were sent to all parts of Hindustan.'[3] The proclamation of his succession had been made at Delhi three days earlier, on February 11; and three days after the enthronement at Kalanor a 'coronation *darbar*' was held, of which Ahmad Yadgar gives the following description :—

'Bairam Khan gave a great entertainment, and raised a large audience-tent, adorned with embroidered satin, like the flowerbeds of a garden in the early Spring, or Paradise itself. He spread carpets of various colours, and on them he placed

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 239.
2. Ibid., p. 241.
3. Ibid., p. 247. "The formal enthronement took place in a garden at Kalanor (Gurdaspur Dist.). The throne, a plain brick structure, 18 ft. long 3 ft. high, resting on a masonry platform, still exists...The throne platform has been recently enclosed in a plain post-and-chain fence, and a suitable inscription in English and Urdu has been affixed." The ancient kings of Lahore used to be enthroned at Kalanor, and the town was at that time of larger size. Now it has a population of only about 5,000.—(Smith, op. cit., p. 30).

a golden throne, and caused Prince Akbar Mirza to sit on it; after which the *darbar* was opened to the public. The nobles of the Chaghatai tribe were made joyful by the gift of expensive dresses of honour, and regal presents, and promises of future favour were likewise made to them. Bairam Khan said, "This is the commencement of His Majesty's reign.' "[1]

(b) Political Situation.

"When he went through the ceremony at Kalanaur," says Smith, "he could not be said to possess any Kingdom. The small army under the command of Bairam Khan merely had a precarious hold by force on certain districts of the Punjab; and that army itself was not to be trusted implicitly. Before Akbar could become Padshah in reality as well as in name he had to prove himself better than the rival claimants to the throne, and at least to win back his father's lost dominions."[2]

Among the successors of Sher Shah, Sikandar Sur had yet to be subdued; Mahmud Shah Adali was still alive, and his Hindu general, Hemu, had become a power to reckon with even more than his nominal master. Bengal had remained independent for more than two centuries, mostly under the Afghans. The Rajput clans of Rajasthan, having recovered from the defeat they had sustained at the hands of Babur, were enjoying unchallenged possession of their territory ever since the death of Sher Shah at Kalinjar. Malwa and Gujarat had thrown off the sovereignty of Delhi, even before the flight of Humayun. Gondwana and Central India were in a state of disorderly independence. The Deccan states of Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, Berar, Bidar, Golkonda,

1. E. and D., op. cit., V, p. 64. Yadgar actually places this incident three days before the battle of Panipat; but from the nature of the description itself it seems highly improbable that Bairam Khan's proclamation of Akbar could have been deferred so long. Smith places the *darbar* as above stated.—(see his *Akbar*, p. 31.) Note also that the Ilahi era or beginning of Akbar's reign dates from Rabi ii, 27, (March 11) *i. e.* 25 days after the actual accession. The era was reckoned from the next *nauroz* or Persian New Year's Day, the interval of 25 days being counted part of the 1st regnal year (commencing from Mar. 11, 1556).–(Ibid., n.)

2. Ibid.

and Bijapur, were in the toils of their local politics and quarrels with Vijayanagar which was still in the zenith of its power. In the Arabian Sea, and on the west coast, the Portuguese were growing strong. The state of the Punjab and the north-west was still very unsettled and full of potential and actual danger.

i. 'Among the prominent events of the early days of the reign,' says Nizamu-d din Ahmad, 'was the rebellion of Shah Abu-l Ma'ali. . . . The late King had a great partiality for him, and this fostered his pride, so that presumptuous ideas got mastery over him, and his conduct was marked by some unseemly actions.[1] The Khan-khanan (Bairam Khan) arrested him, and was about to execute him; but the young Emperor was mercifully disposed and was unwilling that the beginning of his reign should be stained with the execution of a descendant of the Saiyid before any crime had been proved against him. So he placed him in the custody of Pahlawan Kal-gaz (kotwal) and sent him to Lahore. Abu-l Ma'ali escaped from custody,' but after some adventure was recaptured and sent a prisoner to the fort of Bayana.[2]

ii. Nizamu-d din further states, 'So long as Sikandar Afghan (Sur) was in the field, the officers of the Emperor were unable to take any measures for the capture of the fugitive, but sent all their forces against Sikandar. The Imperial forces encountered the Afghans near the Siwalik mountains, and gained a victory which elicited gracious marks of approval from the Emperor.' Even after this defeat, Sikandar continued to hold on for some time longer, but finally, 'being reduced to great extremities (as the *Tarikh-i Daudi* adds), sent his son Abdur Rahaman from Mankot in the Siwalik hills to Akbar Badshah, representing that he had committed many offences, on account of which he dared not present himself at Court, that he sent the few rarities he had with him as a peace-offering, and requested

1. e. g., He failed to answer the summons to the nobles at the time of the *darbar* above referred to.--see Smith, op. cit., p. 31.

2. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 248.

leave to be allowed to retire to Bengal and pass the remainder of his life in retirement. Akbar assented to all his solicitations, and gave him leave to depart to Bengal. Sikandar died three years after this surrender.'[1]

iii. 'When Humayun marched to Hindustan, he (had) consigned the government of Kabul and Ghazni to Munim Khan, one of his chief nobles, and he also made him guardian (*atalik*) of his son, Mirza Muhammad Hakim. The city of Kandahar and its dependent territories were the *jagir* of Bairam Khan (*Khan-khanan*). By the kindness of His Majesty the government of Badakhshan was consigned to Mirza Suleiman. . . But when the intelligence of Humayun's death reached him, ambitious designs took hold of him, and he marched against Kabul and laid siege to it. Munim Khan wrote a full report of all the facts of the matter, and sent it to the Emperor. . . When the news of the siege of Kabul arrived, an imperative *farman* was issued, ... and Mirza Suleiman, seing that he could effect nothing by hostile means, . . . informed Munim Khan that, if his name were recited in the *khutba*, he would take his departure. Munim Khan knew that the garrison of the fort was suffering from the protracted siege, so he consented that the name of Mirza Suleiman should be mentioned in the list of the titles (*zatl-i alkob*) of His Majesty the Emperor. When Mirza Suleiman was informed of this concession, he immediately departed for Badakhshan.[2]

iv. 'Tardi Beg Khan, who was one of the most famous of the nobles of Humayun's reign, and held an exalted place in that monarch's estimation, in the same week that the Emperor died caused the *khutba* to be read in Delhi in the

1. Ibid., IV, p. 508. The final surrender of Sikandar at Mankot did not take place until May 1557, *i. e.*, about six months after the battle of Panipat (Nov. 1556); the fief that was bestowed on him by Akbar comprised the Districts of Kharid and Bihar. Mankot (now in the Jammu territory of the Kashmir State) was the fort built by Salim Sur as a bulwark against the Gakkars.—Smith, op. cit., p. 40; Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 496 n 4.

2. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 249-50.

name of the Emperor Akbar. He also, with the help of Khwaja Sultan Ali, *wazir* and *mir-munshi,* who was also *mir-i arz* and *mir-i mal,* kept under control the affairs of Delhi, and of Mewat and other *parganas* which had but lately been brought under royal authority.'[1] But in spite of all these good services, Tardi Beg had soon to pay for his loyalty with his life.

The circumstances were the advance of Hemu upon Delhi, and the defeat and flight of Tardi Beg from the capital. The exact nature of the Khan's delinquency is the subject of controversy. We noted in the last chapter that Mahmud Shah Adali despatched Hemu towards the Punjab upon hearing of the death of Humayun. 'That general having scored a victory at Gwalior, laid siege to Agra, and having reduced it, proceeded to Delhi. Tardi Beg Khan, the governor, seized with consternation, sent expresses to all the Mogul chiefs in the neighbourhood, to come to his aid. Hemu. . . . . charged Tardi Beg Khan with such impetuosity, that he compelled him to quit the field. The right wing of the Moguls was routed, the flight became general, and the city of Delhi also surrendered. Tardi Beg Khan fled to Sirhind, leaving the whole country open to the enemy. . . . . Bairam Khan. . . . caused Tardi Beg Khan to be seized and beheaded for abandoning Delhi, where he might have defended himself. . . . Bairam Khan remarked that lenity at such a crisis would lead to dangerous consequences, as the only hopes left to the Moguls, at the present moment, depended on every individual exerting himself to the utmost of his power. The King felt obliged to approve of this severe measure. The author of this work (Ferishta) has understood, from the best informed men of the times, that, had Tardi Beg Khan not been executed by way of example, such was the condition of the Mogul army, and the general feeling of those foreigners, that the old scene of Sher Shah would have been acted over again. But, in consequence of this prompt though severe measure, the Chaghatai officers, each

1. Ibid., pp. 248-49.

of whom before esteemed himself at least equal to Kaikobad and Kaikos, now found it necessary to conform to the orders of Bairam Khan, and to submit quietly to his authority.'[1]

V. A. Smith observes, "The punishment, although inflicted in an irregular fashion without trial was necessary and substantially just.[2] It may be reasonably affirmed that failure to punish the dereliction of Tardi Beg from his duty would have cost Akbar both his throne and his life."[3]

SECOND BATTLE OF PANIPAT

(c) Second Battle of Panipat.

'Hemu, who had now assumed the title of Raja Vikramjit, in Delhi, having attached Shadi Khan and other Afghan chiefs to his interest, marched out of the capital to meet the King, with an army as numerous as the locusts and ants of the desert.' So writes Ferishta.[4] The situation was undoubtedly a serious one. Akbar who, at the time of the capitulation of Delhi, was at Jalandhar, 'finding all his dominions, except the Punjab, wrested from him, was perplexed how to act. At length, feeling diffident of himself, both from youth and inexperience, he conferred on Bairam Khan the title of Khan Baba (signifying 'father,' here meaning regent or protector), . . and also required of Bairam Khan to swear on his part, by the soul of his deceased father Humayun, and by the head of his,

1. Briggs, II. pp. 186-187.
2. *Oxford History of India*, p. 343.
3. *Akbar*, p. 36.
4. Briggs, II, p. 187. According to Ahmad Yadgar, when Hemu entered Delhi, he 'raised the Imperial canopy over him, and ordered coin to be struck in his name. He appointed governors of his own, and brought the Delhi territory and the neighhouring *parganas* under his control; and in order to console the King (Adali Shah), he sent an account of the victory in these words: "Your slave, by the royal fortune, has routed the Mughal army, which was firm as an iron wall; but I hear that Humayun's son commands a numerous force, and is advancing towards Delhi. For this reason, I have kept the horses and elephants of the Mughals, in order that I may be able to face the valiant enemy, and not allow them to reach Delhi." Adali Shah was comforted by these deceitful assertions.' (E. and D., op. cit., V, p. 62.)

own son, that he would be faithful to his trust. After this, a council being called by Bairam Khan, the majority of the officers were of opinion, that as the enemy's force consisted of more than a hundred thousand horse, while the royal army could scarcely muster 20,000, it would be prudent to retire to Kabul. Bairam Khan not only opposed this measure, but was almost singular in his opinion that the King ought instantly to give battle to the enemy. The voice of Akbar which was in unison with the sentiments of Bairam Khan, decided the question.'[1]

The Battle.

Hemu began the action with his elephants, on the morning of the 2nd of Muharram, 964 H. (November 5, 1556) in hopes of alarming the enemy's cavalry, unaccustomed to those animals; but the Mughals attacked them so furiously, after they had penetrated even to the centre of the army, where Khan Zaman commanded, that, galled with lances, arrows and javelins, they became quite unruly, and disdaining the control of their drivers, turned and threw the Afghan ranks into confusion. Hemu mounted on an elephant of prodigious size, still continued the action with great bravery, at the head of 4,000 horse, in the very heart of the Mughal army; but being pierced through the eye with an arrow, he sank into his *howda* from extreme agony. The greater part of his army feared his wound was mortal and forsook him. Raising himself again, ... he continued to fight with unabated courage, endeavouring, with the few men who remained about his person, to force his retreat through the enemy's line. ...At length .. he was surrounded by a body of horse, and carried prisoner to Akbar, who was about two or three *kos* in the rear.

Execution of Hemu.

'When Hemu was brought into the presence, Bairam Khan recommended the King to do a meritorious act by killing the infidel with his own hand. Akbar, in order to fulfil the wish of his minister, drew his sword, and touching the head of the captive, became entitled to the appellation of *Ghazi*, while Bai-

1. *Ferishta*, Briggs, II, pp. 185-86.

ram Khan, drawing his own sabre, at a single blow severed the head of Hemu from his body.'[1]

(d) Post-Panipat Events up to 1560.

The principal events that happened after the execution of Hemu may be enumerated here for the sake of clearness thus:—

(i) The occupation of Delhi and Agra;
(ii) The capture of Mewat, and the execution of Hemu's father;
(iii) The acquisition of Ajmir;
(iv) The surrender of Gwalior;
(v) The annexation of Jaunpur;
(vi) Attacks on Rantambhor and Malwa.

Elphinstone rightly points out, "The real restoration of the House of Timur may be dated from this period:—it had been brought about entirely through the exertions of Bairam Khan, whose power was now at the highest pitch ever reached by a subject."[2] At the end of this period we find the great Khan fallen from his high estate, almost suddenly if not unexpectedly, reminding us of Wolsey's memorable words to Thomas Cromwell on the fickleness of human fortune and the precariousness of royal favour.

The task before Akbar was a three-fold one: (1) to recover the dominions of the Crown; (2) to establish his

1. This is Ferishta's account; Briggs, II, pp. 188-89. There are different versions of this incident, as well as of the details of the battle. Ahmad Yadgar says, 'The Prince, accordingly, struck him, and divided his head from his unclean body.'—E. & D., op. cit., V, 65-6. Smith accepts this version, and observes: "Akbar, a boy of fourteen, cannot be justly blamed for complying with the instructions of Bairam Khan, who had a right to expect obedience; nor is there any good reason for supposing that at that time the boy was more scrupulous than his officers. The official story,.. seems to be the late invention of courtly flatterers,....At the time of the battle of Panipat, Akbar was an unregenerate lad, devoted to amusement, and must not be credited with the feelings of his mature manhood."—*Akbar*, p. 39. Nizamu-d din Ahmad, who was Akbar's Chief Bakshi, however, definitely says, "Bairam Khan-Khanan then put Hemu to death with his own hand.'—E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 253. For a fuller discussion, see "The Death of Hemu", *J. R. A. S.*, 1916, p. 527.

2. *History of India*, p. 496.

authority over his chiefs; and (3) to restore in the internal administration that order which had been lost in the course on so many revolutions.

"In the first years of Akbar's reign, his territory was confined to the Punjab and the country round Delhi and Agra. In the third year he acquired Ajmir without a battle; early in the fourth, he obtained the fort of Gwalior; and, not long before Bairam's fall he had driven the Afghans out of Lucknow, and the country on the Ganges as far east as Jaunpur."[1]

The Muslim historians follow a merely chronological order, without using discretion even as regards the relative importance of events. We have therefore to cull out the most significant facts from this jumble, and rearrange them in an intelligible order. The following narrative is taken principally from the *Tabakat-i Akbari*, the *Akbar-Nama*, and the *Tarikh-i Firishta*:

1. OCCUPATION OF DELHI AND AGRA

1. Occupation of Delhi and Agra.

'Next day (after the execution of Hemu) the army marched from Panipat, and without halting anywhere, went straight to Delhi. All the inhabitants of the city of every degree came forth to give His Majesty a suitable reception and to conduct him with due honour into the city. He remained there one month.'[2] From here two important expeditions were led (a) against Mewat, because 'Intelligence was brought in that all the dependants of Hemu, with his treasures and effects, were in Mewat'; (b) against Sikandar Afghan (Sur), whose reduction has already been described above. The first was led by Pir Muhammad Sarwani. He captured all the persons, and took possession of all the valuables, and conducted them to the foot of the throne.' The *Akbar-Nama* gives other details, and says that Hemu's father was given the choice between conversion and death; when

1. *History of India*, p. 500.
2. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 253.

the old man refused to apostatize, 'Pir Muhammad gave an answer with the tongue of his sword.'[1] Mewat was conferred as a *jagir* upon Pir Muhammad, who was a confidential servant of Bairam Khan.[2] On their way back from Alwar or Mewat, 'Haji Khan took possession of Ajmir and Nagor and all those parts. . . . Muhammad Kasim Khan was sent by the Emperor to take charge of Ajmir.'[3]

The expedition against Sikandar, up to a certain stage, was led by Akbar in person. Then, when his mother Mariam Makani and other royal ladies returned from Kabul, 'the Emperor left Bairam Khan in command of the army, and went forth to meet them, his heart receiving great comfort from the reunion.' Towards the end of March, 1558, 'His Majesty arrived at Delhi. He then turned his attention to the concerns of his subjects and army, and justice and mercy held a prominent place in his councils. The Khan-khanan, in concert with the ministers and nobles of the State, used to attend twice a week in the *diwan-khana*, and transact business under the direction and commands of His Majesty....After the expiration of six months, the Emperor embarked in a boat to Agra, where he arrived on the 17th Muharram, 966 H. (30th Oct., 1558), in the third year of the Ilahi.[4] At the time Agra was a town of comparatively small importance.

2. Gwalior and Jaunpur.

"In the course of the third and fourth regnal years (1558-60) the gradual consolidation of Akbar's dominion in Hindustan was advanced by the surrender of the strong fortress of Gwalior in Central India, and the annexation of the Jaunpur province in the east. An attempt to take the castle of Rantambhor in Rajputana failed, and preliminary operations for the reduction of Malwa were interrupted by the intrigues and troubles connected with Akbar's assertion of his personal

1. E. & D., op. cit, VI, p. 21.
2. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 40.
3. E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 21-22.
4. Ibid., V, pp. 256-57.

fitness to rule, and the consequent fall of Bairam Khan, the Protector."[1]

'The fort of Gwalior was celebrated for its height and strength, and had always been the home of great *Rajas*. After the time of Salim Khan (Islam Shah) the fort had been placed in the charge of Suhail, one of his *ghulams*, by Sultan Mahmud Adali. When the throne of Akbar had been established at Agra, Habib Ali Sultan, Maksud Ali Kor, and Kiya Khan were sent to take the fort. They invested it for some days and the garrison being in distress surrendered.' This brief notice of Nizamu-d din is supplemented with some more details by the *Tarikh-i Alfi*, which adds : 'Akbar when he took up his residence at Agra, gave the *parganas* in the neighbourhood of Gwalior as a *jagir* to Kiya Khan. After a time the Khan collected an army and invested Gwalior, but the place was so strong that he could make no impression upon it. Suhail was a man of experience, and he saw very clearly that it would be impossible to hold the fort against the growing power of his Imperial neighbour. (So he cleverly sold the fort to Ram Shah of the old ruling family of Gwalior.) Kiya Khan, the *jagirdar* attacked him, and a battle was fought, in which many on both sides were killed. Ram Shah was defeated, and escaped with difficulty, and went to the Rana of Udaipur.'[2] Gwalior was captured in the third year of Akbar's reign. The next year, beginning with 10th March, 1559, Khan Zaman was sent to reduce Jaunpur, the capital of the Sharkiya kings, which was now in the possession of the Afghans. He accordingly marched thither with a large force, and having won great victories, he annexed that country (and Benares, ac. to *Tarikh-i Alfi*) to the Imperial dominions.'[3]

Here a brief allusion must be made to the extinction of the Sur dynasty of Sher Shah. The end of Sikandar Sur has already been referred to. Mahmud Shah Adali, who had

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 42.
2. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 259 and 167-8.
3. Ibid., pp. 259-60

established himself at Chunar and despatched Hemu to the west against the Mughals, was the only representative of the house now remaining. His fate is thus described in the *Tarikh-i Daudi* : 'As for Adali, at the time of Hemu's death he was at Chunar, and at that juncture the son of Mahmud Khan, by name Khizr Khan, ruler of Bengal, who had assumed the name of Sultan Bahadur, advanced with a large army to avenge the blood of his father ; and Adali proceeded into Bihar to meet him as far as Mungir...The sun had not yet risen when Sultan Bahadur, with his army in array, made an attack upon Adali, and sounded the kettle-drums of war. Adali had only a few men with him, but behaved with considerable gallantry. The action was fought at the stream of Surajgarh, about one *kos* more or less from Mungir, and about 12 *kos* from Patna, and there Adali was defeated and slain, in consequence of the paucity of his numbers, in the year 968 H. (1560 A. D.), after a reign of eight years.' [1]

3. Rantambhor and Malwa.

'In this year (1559) Habib Ali Khan was sent against the fort of Rantambhor. During the rule of Sher Khan Afghan this fort was under the charge of Haji Khan, one of his *ghulams*, and this Haji Khan had now sold the fort to Rai Surjan, a relation of Rai Udai Singh, who held great power in these parts. He had brought all the *parganas* under his rule, and had enforced his authority. Habib Ali with his army invested the fort, and ravaged all the neighbourhood ; the *amirs* then departed to their *jagirs*.

'At this time, while the Court was at Agra, Bahadur Khan, brother of Khan Zaman, marched to effect the conquest of Malwa, which had formerly belonged to the Khilji monarchs, but which had been brought into subjection by Baz Bahadur, son of Suja Khan Afghan. He had reached

1. His son, assuming the name of Sher Shah, made an ineffectual attempt to capture Jaunpur from Khan Zaman, and, as the *Tarikh-i Daudi* records, 'The son of Adali adopted the life of a recluse after this signal calamity, and no one knew anything further about him.'—E. & D., IV, pp. 508-9.

the town of Siri, when the agitation arose about Bairam Khan, and under the orders of the Khan he returned.'[1]

(e) The fall of Bairam Khan.

Early in 1560, Akbar decided to assume the responsibilities of Government himself. The reasons that led him to do this were various. 'The general management of Imperial affairs,' says Nizamu-d din, 'was under the direction of Bairam Khan; but there were envious malignant men, who were striving to ingratiate themselves in His Majesty's favour, who lost no opportunity of speaking an ill word to pervert the mind of the Emperor.'[2] The *Akbar-Nama*, on the other hand, states: 'Bairam's natural character was good and amiable. But through bad company, that worst misfortune of man, his natural good qualities were overclouded, and arrogance was fostered by the flattery.' Abu-l Fazl also accuses him of conspiracy—'At length Bairam's proceedings went beyond all endurance, and he formed some sinister designs in conspiracy with evil-minded flatterers.'[3] Ferishta clinches the matter by adding, 'In short, so many insinuations were thrown out against Bairam Khan, particularly one of a design in favour of Abul Kasim Mirza, the son of the late Kamran Mirza, that Akbar became alarmed, and thought it necessary to curtail the Protector's authority.'[4]

Misunderstanding once generated, fed upon distrust, and every trifling accident was perverted in order to widen the breach. "The Persian histories narrate the circumstances of Bairam Khan's fall at immense length and from different points of view," writes V. A. Smith; but "a concise summary may be sufficient to satisfy the curiosity of the modern reader. When Akbar had entered on his eighteenth year (A. D. 1560), and began to feel himself a man, the trammels of the tutelage in which he was held by his guardian became galling, and he desired to be a king in fact as well as in name. Those

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 260.
2. Ibid., p. 261.
3. Ibid., VI, pp. 23-4.
4. Briggs, II, pp. 196-97.

natural feelings were stimulated and inflamed by the ladies of his household and various courtiers who for one reason or another had grievances against the Protector.[1] His appointment of Shaikh Gadai as *Sadr-i-Sudur* excited the sectarian animosity of all the Sunnis at court, who complained, and not without reason, that Bairam Khan showed excessive favour to the adherents of his own Shia sect. Many influential people had been offended by the execution of Tardi Beg,[2] and on several occasions Bairam Khan, presuming too much on his position, had behaved with undue arrogance. He was accused too, of making indiscreet remarks. Moreover, Akbar was annoyed by a special personal grievance, inasmuch as he had no privy purse, and his household was poorly paid, while the servants of the Protector grew rich. Bairam Khan, on his side, was inclined to think that his services were indispensable, and was unwilling to surrender the uncontrolled power which he had exercised so long. Gradually it became apparent that either Akbar or Bairam Khan must yield."[3] Matters soon reached a crisis.

"The advisers of Bairam Khan were divided in opinion. Shaikh Gadai, the *Sadr-i Sudur*, and certain other counsellors advised their patron to seize Akbar's person and fight the matter out. But, Bairam Khan, after some hesitation, honourably refused to stain the record of a lifetime of loyalty by turning traitor, and intimated his intention to submit. Meantime, the courtiers for the most part had deserted the falling

1. The principal centre of all this intrigue at the Court was; Maham Anaga, who was Akbar's *atka* or nurse from his cradle. When he grew up, she was the head of his harem. According to Abu-l Fazl, she was the governing spirit and real minister for a time.—see E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 261-64.

2. Tardi Beg and Bairam Khan were old rivals under Humayun; the former was one of the oldest Chaghatai nobles, and he stood in the way of the able and ambitious Bairam, the Transoxian chiefs looking up to him as much as those from Persia did to Bairam.—Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 497 n.

3. Smith, op. cit., pp. 42-3.

minister, and, after the manner of their kind, had turned to worship the rising sun."[1]

Akbar, on the other hand, acted promptly. He sent to Bairam Khan the following missive, through his tutor Mir Abdu-l Latif :—

"As I was assured of your honesty and fidelity, I left all important affairs of State in your charge, and thought only of my own pleasures. I have now determined to take the reins of Government into my own hands, and it is desirable that you should make the pilgrimage to Mecca, upon which you have been so long intent. A suitable *jagir* out of the *parganas* of Hindustan will be assigned for your maintenance, the revenues of which shall be transmitted to you by your agents."[2]

Nizamu-d din narrates the sequel well: 'When Mir Abdu-l Latif communicated this message to Khan-khanan, he listened attentively, and having parted from the Mir, he left Mewat for Nagor. . . . Upon reaching Nagor, he sent his banner, kettle-drums, and all other marks of nobility, to the Emperor by the hands of Husain Kuli Beg. . . . The surrender of the banner and the other insignia of nobility gratified the Emperor. . . .

'Pir Muhammad Khan Sarwani, whom the Khan-khanan had banished from the country and sent to Mecca,[3] had waited in Gujarat for the proper season (of sailing). On hearing of the disgrace of the Khan-khanan, he returned to Court with all possible speed. He met with a very gracious reception, and was honoured with the title *Nasiru-l Mulk*, as well as with a banner and kettle-drums. He was then sent with a force to hasten Khan-khanan's departure for Mecca (or to use Badauni's phrase, 'to pack him off as quickly as possible to Mecca without giving him any time for delay,') and accordingly marched after him. . . .

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 44.
2. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 264.
3. For details of the circumstances under which Pir Muhammad was dismissed by Bairam Khan see Ibid., pp. 257-58.

When Bairam Khan learnt that Pir Muhammad had been sent to pursue him, 'this greatly annoyed and distressed him. Some evil-minded persons, having found their opportunity, played upon the feelings of the Khan-khanan, and inciting him to rebellious acts, he went towards the Punjab. . . . . On the Emperor being informed of Khan-khanan's advance, he despatched . . . . . . a body of nobles to the Punjab . . . . . so that he was obliged to fight. . . . A sharp action ensued, with considerable loss to both sides, and Khan-khanan being defeated, fled towards the Siwalic hills. . . . The Emperor then himself marched to the Punjab. . . . A party of adventurous soldiers dashed forward into the hill, and surrounding the place put many of the defenders to the sword. Sultan Hussain Jalair was killed in the action. When they brought his head into the presence of the Khan-khanan, in a burst of feeling he exclaimed, "This life of mine is not worth so much, that a man like this should be killed in my defence." Depressed and anxious, the Khan instantly sent one of his followers, Jamal Khan, to the Emperor with this message: "I deeply repent my deeds, which have not been entirely under my own control; but if I am favoured with the royal clemency, I will throw the veil of oblivion over my misdeeds, and will present myself in your presence, and hope for your forgiveness."

'When this message was brought to the ears of the Emperor, the recollection of old services rose up in his memory, and he gave orders that the Khan-khanan should be brought into his presence. When the Khan-khanan approached the royal presence, all the *amirs* and *khans* went out, by the Emperor's order, to meet him, and conducted him to the Emperor with every mark of honour. . . . The Emperor received him with the most princely grace and presented him with a splendid robe of honour. Two days afterwards, he gave him permission to depart on a pilgrimage to Mecca and the holy places. . . . Khan-khanan, with his people took the road to Gujarat. . . .'[1]

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 264-69.

Bairam Khan could not, however, pursue his journey to its close, for he was murdered at Patan by an Afghan whose father had been killed at the battle of Machiwara. 'Some scoundrels then plundered the encampment of the deceased', says Nizamu-d din. Bairam Khan's body was picked up by some *fakirs* who gave it a burial. His family with great difficulty managed to reach Ahmadabad. His little son, Abdur-rahim, then only four years of age, was brought up at Akbar's Court, and lived to become *Khan-khanan* and one of the greatest nobles of the Empire.

"The story of the transactions leading up to the fall and death of Bairam Khan," observes Smith, "leaves an unpleasant taste....Both Humayun and Akbar owed their recovery of the throne to Bairam Khan, and the obligations of gratitude required that when the time came for Akbar to take the reins into his own hands the demission of his faithful charioteer should be effected as gently as possible. But the many enemies of Bairam Khan were not in a humour to make his exit easy. If they could have had their way un-obstructed, they would certainly have put him to death. The generosity of his reception after the failure of his rebellion, may be fairly attributed to young Akbar himself, who had had little to do with the previous transactions, for which Maham Anaga was responsible, as her panegyrist Abu-l Fazal affirms."[1]

(f) "The Parda Regime" (1600-604).

"Akbar shook off the tutelage of Bairam Khan," says Smith, "only to bring himself under the 'monstrous regiment' of unscrupulous women. He had yet another effort to make before he found himself and rose to the height of his essentially noble nature."[2] Akbar was eighteen years of age, and it may not seem unlikely that he came under the influence of the 'veil' even to a considerable extent; but Smith's insinuation, is not to be accepted without careful scrutiny. He himself admits that Akbar's "essentially noble nature" asserted itself, and one who had acted with such determination in

1. Smith, op. cit., pp. 47-8.
2. Ibid., p. 48.

overthrowing a giant like Bairam Khan, was not likely to put up, if at all, for long with "petticoat government of the worst kind."

We must now turn to his activities during the first four years after the fall of Bairam Khan (1600-1604). At the end of this period he became completely his own master in every sense of the term.

1. The Conquest of Malwa.

The condition of this fertile plateau (north of the Vindhya range, between lat. 23"30' and 24"30'; and long. 74"30' and 78"10') of Malwa was "such as seemed to invite a war of conquest with good prospects of success". Shuja'at or Shujawal Khan, who practically ruled it independently under Adali Shah Sur, had died in the year of Akbar's accession (1556). 'He was succeeded by his son Baz Bahadur,' says the *Tarikh-i Alfi*, 'and when the Afghans were scattered over Hindustan by the conquering Chaghatais, Baz Bahadur established himself as permanent ruler of Malwa. When Bahadur Khan (Khan Zaman's brother) marched against him, the affairs of Bairam Khan came to a crisis, and the campaign in Malwa was stayed.[1]

'Baz Bahadur was,' according to Nizamu-d din, 'the most accomplished man of his day in the science of music and in Hindi song. He spent much of his time in the society of musicians and singers...It now came to His Majesty's knowledge that Baz Bahadur had given himself up to sensuality, and cared nothing for the country. Tyrannical and overbearing men had consequently oppressed the poor and helpless, and the peasantry and the people had been reduced to distress.' 'The honour of the Imperial throne required,' continues the *Tabakat-i Akbari*, 'that this country should be again brought under its control and find peace and security' (ever the plea of aggressive Imperialism!).

'So Adham Khan (Maham Anaga's son), Pir Muhammad Khan (Bairam Khan's enemy), and some other *amirs*, were nominated to effect the conquest of that country. They ac-

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 168-69.

tually marched thither, and when they came within ten *kos* of *Sarangpur* (now in the Dewas State, Central India Agency), Baz Bahadur, who was in that city, awoke from his slumber of neglect, and took up a position, which he fortified, two *kos* from the city.....Adham Khan sent forward an advance force to the entrenchments which Baz Bahadur had thrown up around his army. Baz Bahadur then threw off his apathy, and marched out to give battle. But the Afghan nobles in his army were disaffected, and made their escape, and he himself was obliged to take flight (1561)–towards Khandesh and Burhanpur (Faizi). Rup-mati, his favourite wife, who used to recite poetry,[1] several other wives and all his treasure fell into the hands of the Imperial forces. As the fugitives were making off, a eunuch of Baz Bahadur's wounded Rup-mati with a sword, to prevent her falling into the hands of strangers ; and when Adham Khan summoned her to his presence, she took poison and killed herself.

'Adham Khan wrote an account of the victory to the Emperor. He retained all the ladies and musicians and singers, but he sent some elephants, under charge of Sadik Khan, to Court. This retention of the ladies and other spoils displeased the Emperor, and made him deem it necessary to proceed to Malwa in person. On the 21st Sha'ban, 968 H., (April 27, 1561) the Emperor left Agra, and marched towards Malwa.... Adham Khan now collected all his spoils, and presented them to the Emperor,[2] who stayed a few days to refresh and enjoy himself, and then returned to Agra.[3]

1. The amours of Baz Bahadur and Rup-mati, 'renowned throughout the world for her beauty and charm,' are celebrated in many a song and picture.

2. Abu-l Fazl says that Adham Khan was altogether amazed at the sudden appearance of the Emperor, who had marched so fast that he outstripped the messengers sent by Maham Anaga to warn her son. He also describes how reluctant Adham Khan was to give up the women and the singing and dancing girls of Baz Bahadur. (*Akbar-Nama*, ii, p. 178.)

3. Akbar arrived in Agra on June 4, 1561, "after an absence of only thirty-eight days. Akbar, who resembled Alexander the Great in his disregard of climatic conditions or physical obstacles, made his rapid journey in the height of the hot season."—(Smith, op. cit, p. 52.)

At that place Pir Muhammad Khan Sarwani and other nobles who had *jagirs* in Malwa, waited upon the Emperor. They were honoured with gifts of robes and horses, and were then sent back to their *jagirs*.'

Akbar was not fully reconciled to Adham Khan. It was only the intercession of the latter's mother, Maham Anaga, that had mollified him for the time being. In November 1561, Shamsu-d din Muhammad Khan Atga, who came from Kabul, was entrusted with the management, as minister, of all affairs political, financial, and military; and perhaps on his advice, Adham Khan was recalled from Malwa. Maham Anaga was opposed to Atga Khan's high appointment, and she was very much vexed to find Akbar fast slipping out of her control. But at the same time, it is strange that Pir Muhammad was allowed to succeed Adham Khan in the charge of Malwa; for both were equally unworthy. Both had been guilty of excesses in Malwa[1]; but perhaps the guilt of the former weighed more with the Emperor for his misappropriation and contumacious spirit.

Pir Muhammad, after his appointment in place of Adham Khan, assembled the forces of Malwa and marched to subdue the countries of Asir and Burhanpur. He laid siege to Bijagarh, the principal of all the fortresses of that country, which he took by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword. ('He next proceeded against Sultanpur, and annexed it to the Imperial territories'—*Akbar-Nama*, ii, p. 212). He then marched against Asir, a well-known place in Khandesh. Crossing the river Narbada, he gave many of the towns and villages to the sword and destruction, and came to Burhanpur. That city also he took by storm, and gave orders for a general massacre. Many of the learned men and *saiyids* of

1. 'On the day of the victory', according to Badauni, 'the two captains remaining on the spot, had the captives brought before them, and troop after troop of them put to death, so that their blood flowed river upon river.' Pir Muhammad cracked brutal jests, and when remonstrance was offered, replied :—'In one single night all these captives have been taken, what can be done with them ?'

the place he caused to be decapitated in his presence. The governors of Asir and Burhanpur, and Baz Bahadur, who lived in this vicinity since his flight from Malwa, now concerted together, and assisted by all the *zamindars* of the country they assembled a force with which they assailed Pir Muhammad Khan (as his men 'were pursuing their straggling march homewards, laden with spoil'—*Akbar-Nama*, ii, p. 293). Unable to resist, Pir Muhammad fled towards Mandu, and when he came to the Narbada,....he was thrown off (his horse) into the water and drowned, thus receiving the recompense of his deeds', says the *Tabakat-i Akbari*. (Badauni writes: 'By way of water he went to fire and the sighs of orphans, poor wretches, and captives settled his business'—vol. ii, p. 51). 'The other nobles, on reaching Malwa, found that the country was lost, so they pursued their course to the Court of the Emperor. Baz Bahadur pursued them, and brought the whole of Malwa once more into his power. The *amirs* who had abandoned Malwa, and had come to Court without orders were imprisoned for a time, and then set at liberty.

'Abdulla Khan Uzbek now received orders to retrieve this disaster in Malwa, and several other Khans were directed to assist him. Towards the end of the year 969 H. (1562 A. D.) Abdulla and his auxiliaries entered Malwa, and Baz Bahadur, being unable to withstand him, took to flight—to the hills of Kambalmir' (*Alfi*). A force was sent in pursuit, and coming up with the fugitives, killed many of them. Baz Bahadur found protection for some time with Rana Udai Singh, one of the chief Rajas of Marwar, and afterwards he repaired to Gujarat, but eventually he threw himself upon the mercy of the Emperor, and sought a refuge from the frowns of fortune. (According to Badauni, he was imprisoned for some time, but soon after his release he died ; according to Faizi, he was granted a *mansab* of 2,000.) Abdulla Khan remained at Mandu and the other *amirs* returned to their *jagirs*'.

In July 1564, Abdulla Khan showed signs of rebellion, and Akbar was obliged to March against him in person.

Abdulla Khan was soon driven to the confines of Gujarat, whence he made his way to Jaunpur and died there during the rebellion of Khan Zaman, in 1565. 'The Imperial army then moved, and, on the new moon of Zi-l hijja, 791 H., reached Mandu. The *zamindars* of the neighbourhood came in to pay their allegiance, and met with a gracious reception. Mir Mubarak Shah, ruler of Khandesh, sent a letter and suitable presents by the hands of ambassadors to the Emperor. After some days the ambassadors received permission to return, and a *farmān* was sent to Mian Mubarak Shah directing him to send any one of his daughters whom he thought worthy to attend upon the Emperor . . . .When Mubarak Shah received this gracious communication, he was greatly delighted, and he sent his daughter with a suitable retinue and paraphernalia to His Majesty, esteeming it a great favour to be allowed to do so......In Muharram, 972 H. (August 1564), the Imperial camp moved from Mandu. . . .Karra Bahadur Khan was appointed governor of Mandu. . . . .Proceeding by way of Marwar and Gwalior, the Emperor reached Agra on the 3rd Rabi'u-l awal. In the course of this year, the Emperor had twins born to him, one of whom was named Hasan, the other Husain ; but they lived only a month.'

2. Khan Zaman's Contumacy.

We have noted how, after the death of Adali, the eastern province of Jaunpur was brought under the Empire, and Khan Zaman was appointed its governor. An attempt by Adali's son to recover the province, we also saw, ended in failure. In July 1561, 'various actions of Khan Zaman (Ali Kuli Khan) excited a suspicion of his intention to rebel, so towards the close of the year, His Majesty proceeded towards Jaunpur, on a progress of hunting and pleasure. . .When the Court reached Karra, Ali Kuli Khan and his brother Bahadur Khan came up by forced marches from their *jagir* of Jaunpur, and on being received, they presented suitable offerings. Their fidelity and services being recognised, they received presents of horses and robes, and were then dismissed to their *jagirs*. On the 17th Zi-l hijja, of the sixth year of the Ilahi,

corresponding with 968 H., (August 1561) the Court reached Agra.

3. First Rajput Marriage and Alliance.

'On the 8th Jumada-l awwal, 969 H.. (January 1562) the Emperor started to pay a visit to the tomb of Kutbu-l Auliya Khwaja Muinu-d din Chishti (at Ajmir). When he reached the town of Sambhar, Raja Bihari Mal (Kachwaha), one of the chief Rajas of that country, came with great loyalty and respect, along with his son Bhagwan Das, to pay his services to His Majesty. He was received with great honour and attention, and his daughter, an honourable lady, was accepted by His Majesty, and took her place among the ladies of the Court.[1] From thence he proceeded to Ajmir, and he dispensed many gifts and pensions among the inhabitants of that noble city.

4. Capture of Mairtha.

'Mirza Sharafu-d din Hussain, who held a *jagir* in the territory of Ajmir, came to pay his homage. He was sent with several other *amirs* of that province to effect the conquest of the fort of Mairtha, about 20 *kos* from Ajmir, which was held by Jai Mal, the commandant of Rai Maldeo. His Majesty then started for Agra, and making forced marches he performed the distance, one hundred and twenty *kos*, in a day and a night. (The *Tarikh-i Alfi* gives the more probable time of *three* days.). . . . When the victorious army went to take possession of the fort Jai Mal marched out with his men. But Deodas, in shame and pride, set fire to the property which was in the fortress, and then sallied forth at the head of a party of Rajputs, and passed in front of the royal army . . . Many of the royal sol-

1. Bihari or Bihar Mal or Bharmal was the Raja of Amber (Jaipur). His daughter became the mother of Akbar's successor Jahangir, and came to be known as Maryam-Zamani. This marriage, according to Dr. Beni Prasad, " symbolised the dawn of a new era in Indian politics; it gave the country a line of remarkable sovereigns; it secured to four generations of Mughal Emperors the services of some of the greatest captains and diplomats that medieval India produced." Raja Man Singh was Bharmal's grandson.

diers fell, and nearly 200 Rajputs were slain . . .The fort of Mairtha was then occupied by the Imperial forces.'

5. The Brave Rani Durgavati of Gondwana.

The *Tarikh-i Alfi* gives the following brief notice of an epic incident, belonging to this period (1654), concerning the conquest of *Garha* in the Jabbulpore District:—

'Khwaja Abdu-l Majid, who had received the title of Asaf Khan,[1] was appointed governor of Karra, and in that province he rendered good service. One of his services was the conquest of Garha, a territory abounding in hills and jungles, which had never been conquered by any ruler of Hindustan since the rise of the faith of Islam. At this time it was governed by a woman called *Rani (Durgavati)*, and all the dogs (!) of that country were very faithful and devoted to her. Asaf Khan had frequently sent emissaries into her country on various pretexts, and when he had learnt all the circumstances and peculiarities of the country, and the position and treasures of the *Rani*, he levied an army to conquer the country. The *Rani* came forth to battle with nearly 500 elephants and 20,000 horse. The armies met and both did their best. An arrow struck the *Rani*, who was in front of her horsemen, and when that noble woman saw that she must be taken prisoner, she seized a dagger from her elephant-driver and plunged it into her stomach, and so died. Asaf Khan gained the victory, and stopped the advance at the *taluq* of Chauragarh, where the treasures of the rulers of Garha were kept. The son of the *Rani* shut himself up in the fort, but it was taken the same day, and the youth was trampled to death by horses. So much plunder in jewels, gold, silver, and other things was taken, that it was impossible to compute even the tenth part of it. Out of all the plunder, Asaf Khan sent only fifteen elephants to Court, and retained all the rest for himself.'[2]

1. This was Asaf Khan I; later in the reign there were two others with the same title. For his biography see Blochmann, *Ain.*, i. pp. 366-69.

2. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 169. There are differences regarding details in other accounts.

Gondwana formed the northern part of the present Central Provinces. The fort of Chauragarh is now in the Narsingpur District. When it fell into Asaf Khan's hands, its treasures contained, besides those mentioned above, 'coined and uncoined gold, decorated utensils, pearls, figures, pictures, jewelled and decorated idols, figures of animals made wholly of gold, and other rarities.' "The coin was said to include a hundred large pots full of the gold *ashrafis* of Alau-d din Khilji."

The gallant queen had, fifteen years previously, become the regent for her minor son, Bir Narayan. Although the Raja had now attained manhood, she continued to exercise all authority. "The Rani was a princess of the famous Chandel dynasty of Mahoba, which had been one of the great powers of India five hundred years earlier. Her impoverished father had been obliged to lower his pride and give his daughter to the wealthy Gond Raja, who was far inferior in social position. She proved herself worthy of her noble ancestry, and governed her adopted country with courage and capacity, 'doing great things', as Abul Fazl remarks, 'by dint of her far-seeing abilities. She had great contests with Baz Bahadur and the Miahs, and was always victorious. She had 20,000 good cavalry with her in her battles, and 1000 famous elephants. The treasures of the Rajas of that country fell into her hands. She was a good shot with the gun and arrow, and continually went a-hunting and shot animals of the chase with her gun. It was her custom that when she heard that a tiger had made his appearance, she did not drink water till she had shot him.' Akbar's attack on a princess of a character so noble," observes Smith, "was mere aggression, wholly unprovoked and devoid of all justification other than the lust for conquest and plunder."[1] Asaf Khan intoxicated with success, in the manner of Adham Khan in Malwa, evidently thought of establishing himself independently; but Akbar, in this instance, for some reason or other, 'winked at his treachery,' and deferred the settlement of accounts.

1. Smith, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

We might close this period (1560-64) with an account of two incidents which throw more light upon Akbar's independent character, and assertion of individuality, than any reflections of his critics who spin excessively over the malign influences of the 'monstrous regiment of women' and the 'petticoat government' over the youthful Emperor.

6. Adham Khan and Khwaja Muazzam.

'A tragical event occurred in the course of this year (May 16, 1562)', writes Nizamu-d din 'Adham Khan Kokaltash, son of Maham Anaga, could not endure to see the elevation of his compeers. In the presumption of youth and pride of wealth and station, he yielded to the incentives of Shahbu-d din Ahmad Khan, Munim Khan Khan-khanan, and several other nobles, and murdered Khan-i Azam (Shamsu-d din Muhammad Atga), then Prime-Minister, as he was sitting in his public office. Then, trusting to the favour and kindness which had been shown to him by the Emperor, he went and stood at the door of the *harem*. His Majesty rushed out of the *harem*, sword in hand, and the assassin was bound hand and foot, and cast over the parapet for his crime . . . . .All those who had taken part in the conspiracy fled, and hid themselves through fear of punishment . . . .His Majesty showed great solicitude for the sons of the deceased minister, and for Maham Anaga; but the latter, in anger and in grief for her son, fell ill and died forty days afterwards.'

The other incident was also of a similar character. The same writer records: 'Khwaja Muazzam was maternal uncle of the Emperor . . .This person had been guilty of several disgraceful actions during the reign of the Emperor Humayun, ... His unseemly conduct at length compelled the Emperor to banish him. . . . . After his banishment the Khwaja stayed for a while in Gujarat, but subsequently returned to the Court of the Emperor. Bairam Khan then countenanced him, and he received some degree of attention. Upon the disgrace of Bairam Khan, the Emperor took compassion on the Khwaja, and gave him some *jagir*. But the Khwaja's perverse and evil nature got the better of him, and he was guilty of some disgraceful

deeds. To mention one: There was a woman named Fatima, attached to the *harem* of the late Emperor, and the Khwaja had taken to himself a daughter of hers named Zuhra Agha. After some time he formed the design of putting her to death. Upon her mother being informed of this fact, she hastened to make it known to the Emperor, and to crave his protection. The Emperor was just about to start on a hunting expedition, and he assured the poor mother that he would take measures to rescue her daughter from the Khwaja. Accordingly he sent Tahir Muhammad Khan *Mir-i Faraghat* and Rustum Khan to give the Khwaja notice that the Emperor was about to visit him. When Tahir Muhammad reached his house, he was so enraged, that he killed the poor woman. As soon as the Emperor arrived, and was informed of the Khwaja's cruel actions, which cried for punishment, he gave orders to his followers to well thrash him, and then to put him in a boat and souse him several times in the river. After this he sent him a prisoner to the fort of Gwalior, where he died in confinement. Although immersed several times, he would not drown, and whenever he came up he abused the Emperor. He died insane. (*Akbar-Nama*, ii, p. 276.)

What Smith observes with regard to the latter incident is equally true of both. He says, "The punishment inflicted on him proved definitely that Akbar was not to be deterred by family influence from doing justice on evil-doers, after the rough and ready manner of the times. The incident may be taken as marking the date of Akbar's final emancipation from the control of a palace clique. He continued to show all proper respect to his mother, *but he did not allow her to control his policy, which was conceived on principles distasteful to her.*"[1]

(g) Rebellions: East and West.

The principal rebellions of this period were two: That of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's half-brother, at Kabul; and that of Khan Zaman at Jaunpur. They were interconnected in so

1. Ibid., pp. 67-8.

far as the one sympathised with the other, and built his hopes of success on simultaneous action.

1. The Kabul Revolt.

The first attempt of Mirza Suleiman of Badakhshan on Kabul has already been described. 'When Munim Khan (Mirza Mahammad Hakim's guardian) left Kabul to visit the Court of the Emperor, Muhammad Khan Akhta-begi was left there as governor, but on Munim Khan being informed of his illtreatment of the people of Kabul, he removed him from office, and appointed his own son, Ghani Khan, in his place. . . .After a time, Mah Chochak Begam (Hakim's mother) and the people of Kabul were greatly distressed by the proceedings of Ghani . . . .Sometime afterwards Ghani Beg went out one day for a stroll in the melon-gardens, and the opportunity was seized by the mother of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, in concert with Shah Wali Atka. . . ., to enter the fort and close the gates against Ghani Khan. On returning and finding the gates of the fortress closed, Ghani Khan understood that the people had revolted against him. Unable to do anything, he went off to the Imperial Court. The mother of the Prince then took the direction of affairs into her own hands. . . . .When the report of these occurrences reached the Emperor, he appointed Munim Khan governor of Kabul and guardian (*atalik*) of the young Prince Mirza Muhammad (who was only ten years of age). The mother of the Prince assembled all the forces she could, and taking the Prince with her, she went, with the intention of resisting by force of arms, to Jalalabad, known in old times by the name of Jusai. There she awaited Munim Khan, who quickly marched against her, and defeated and scattered her forces at the first attack. After this he returned to Court. The Begam returned to Kabul. . . . .'

After some time, Abul Ma'ali, who had evidently escaped from Bayana and gone on pilgrimage, returned from Mecca, and in concert with Mirza Sharafu-d din, the *jagirdar* of Nagor and Ajmir, rebelled and made towards Kabul. 'The Imperial forces invested Ajmir, . . . and then hastened in pursuit of the rebels. . . . . When Abul Ma'ali . . . found that

the royal army was coming up in pursuit of him, he was dismayed, and turning aside from the direct road he fled towards Kabul. When he approached Kabul, he wrote a letter full of affection and devotion for the late Emperor, and sent it to Mah Chochak Begam (the Emperor's widow). She sent to invite him in, and received him with honour. She also gave him her daughter in marriage. Abul Ma'ali now pushed himself forward, and took the direction of the establishment of Prince Muhammad Hakim.

'A party of malcontents, who were displeased with the treatment they had received from Mah Chochak Begam . . . ., persuaded him that matters would never go on well as long as the Begam lived. He fell in with their views, and slew the unfortunate woman with a dagger. Then he got into his hands the Prince Muhammad Hakim, who was of tender age, and took the direction of the government . . . . Mirza Muhammad Hakim sent a person to Mirza Suleiman, calling upon him for assistance . . . . . . The Mirza, hearing of the state of affairs, . . . marched against Kabul . . . Both sides drew up their forces, and the battle began. . . . . Three days later, he sent Abul Ma'ali, with his hands bound behind his neck, to Mirza Muhammad Hakim, and he ordered him to be strangled in punishment of his crimes. This happened on the night of the 17th Ramzan, 970 H. (April 1564).

'Mirza Suleiman now sent to Badakhshan for his daughter, and married her to Muhammad Hakim. After giving *jagirs* in the Kabul territory to many of his followers, and appointing Umaid Ali, who was in his confidence, to the post of minister, he returned to Badakhshan.

'Mirza Muhammad Hakim and his people, being greatly annoyed by these Badakhshanis, drove them out of Kabul. Mirza Suleiman then came again with a large army to take revenge for this expulsion . . . . Hakim fled to Peshawar, and appealed for Akbar's help . . . . . when the statement of Mirza Muhammad Hakim reached the Imperial Court, an order was given directing all the nobles and *jagirdars* of the Punjab . . . . . to assemble their forces and march to the assistance of

Mirza Muhammad Hakim . . . . . . Mirza Suleiman on the approach of the royal forces fled to Badakhshan . . . .

Mirza Suleiman, for a fourth time invaded Kabul. Mirza Hakim once more sought refuge in flight, and again appealed to Akbar. The Emperor this time appointed Faridun Khan, maternal uncle of the Mirza, and a noble of the Imperial Court, to go to his assistance. 'He now sent Khush-khabar Khan, one of the royal heralds, with money, goods of Hindustan, and a horse and saddle, to the Mirza; and he wrote a *farman*, in which he said that if the Mirza required assistance, he would send the *amirs* of the Punjab to support him.

'When Khush-khabar Khan approached the camp, the Mirza hastened out with due ceremony and respect to receive the *farman*. After the arrival of Khush-khabar Khan, Faridun laboured to instigate the Mirza to hostile attempts, representing that it would be easy for him to effect the conquest of Lahore. Hostilities having been resolved upon, he tried to persuade the Mirza to seize Khush-khabar Khan. But although the Mirza had been led away by his foolish persuasions, he was too honourable to consent to the detention of Khush-khabar Khan; so he invited the Khan to his presence secretly, and sent him away. Sultan Ali, a clerk who had fled from the Court, and Hasan Khan, brother of Shahbu-d din Ahmad Khan, who was in Kabul, helped to excite the hostile spirit and added their voices to Faridun's.

'Won over by their persuasions, the Mirza broke into open revolt, and marched against Lahore. Upon coming into the neighbourhood of the city, he began to plunder. Some of the nobles of the Punjab, ... hearing of these proceedings, assembled at Lahore. They looked to the safety of the fort, and wrote an account of the Mirza's rebellion and hostile acts to the Emperor. On arriving near Lahore, the Mirza advanced to the foot of the fortifications; but the *amirs* of the Punjab repulsed him with the fire of their guns and muskets. At length, when intelligence came of the advance of the royal forces, the Mirza, feeling unable to offer resistance, took to flight.

2. Khan Zaman's Rebellion.

We have already mentioned the contumacious conduct of this nobleman and his brother, Bahadur Khan, and their submission at the Emperor's approach, in August 1561. They again rebelled early in 1565. In May, Akbar was obliged to take the field in person, and crossed the Jumna. In December, 1565, Khan Zaman gave an undertaking not to cross the Ganges, and Akbar came back to Agra in March 1566. Meantime Mirza Muhammad Hakim invaded the Punjab, under the circumstances described above. "He was encouraged by the Uzbeg rebellions to claim the throne of Hindustan, and Khan Zaman went so far as to recite the *khutba*, or prayer for the King, in his name."[1] Akbar set forth against his brother in November 1566; but when he learnt of his defeat and flight, he returned to Lahore where he heard of the rebellion of the Mirzas (February 1567). The Mirzas, having first broken out at Sambhal, near Moradabad, where they had been granted estates, had been driven into Malwa. In May 1567, Akbar had once more to march against Khan Zaman, who had broken his plighted word, to suppress him finally. The details of these events are thus set forth by Nizamu-d din in the *Tabakat-i Akbari*:

'In consequence of the severe proceedings against Abdulla Khan Uzbeg, which have been narrated above (viz., his expulsion from Malwa on account of his rebellious attitude), an opinion got abroad that the Emperor had a bad opinion of the Uzbegs.' The disaffected nobles, among whom was Ibrahim Khan the uncle of Khan Zaman, 'resolved to consult Ali Kuli Khan (Khan Zaman), who was one of their own tribe, and was the Emperor's representative in their part of the country ...... After consultation ... they determined to rebel ..... Ibrahim Khan and Sikandar Khan went to Lucknow, full of hostile designs. Khan Zaman and his brother went to Karra Manikpur, and there began their revolt.

'Asaf Khan and Majnum Khan (who was the *jagirdar* in that quarter) took a bold course, and went forth to con-

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 77.

front the rebels, and sent a report to the Emperor of the position. When the statements of the *amirs* reached the Emperor he resolved to punish these attempts. He ordered Munim Khan Khan-khanan to march in advance with a strong force, and cross over the river at Kanauj, to keep the enemy in check. He himself remained behind a few days to collect and organize his forces. In the month of Shawwal he crossed over the Jumna, and marched to chastise the rebels . . . . . . On Friday, the 12th Zi-l hijja, the royal forces entered the citadel of Jaunpur. Orders were given to Asaf Khan and other nobles to cross over the Ganges at the ferry of Narhan, where Ali Kuli Khan and his followers had passed, and then to go to confront the rebels and act according to circumstances . . . . . .

'Between Khan-khanan (who succeeded to the command of the Imperial army) and Khan Zaman there was an old and warm friendship, and when they were thus opposed to each other, a correspondence was opened, and it was agreed that Khan Zaman should wait upon Khan-khanan to discuss the terms of peace. The negotiations lingered on for four or five months, and war-like operations were suspended................. After a long discussion it was determined that Khan Zaman should send his mother, Ali Khan, and Ibrahim Khan his uncle, to the Court of the Emperor, to ask pardon for his offences. Upon receiving forgiveness the Khan and his brother and Sikandar Khan were to go to Court.......Ibrahim Khan, with uncovered head, and with a sword and shroud upon his neck, stepped forward, and Khan-khanan entreated forgiveness.......and he trusted that the boundless mercy and kindness of His Majesty would look with an eye of tenderness upon the faults of such useful servants........The Emperor, out of the kindness that he felt for Khan-khanan, said, "For your sake, I forgive their offences, but I am not satisfied that they will remain faithful."......

The Emperor then went to visit the fort of Chunar, celebrated for its height and strength. He made three days' march from Jaunpur to Benares, and there rested several

days. From thence he went to the fortress, and having surveyed it, he ordered it to be repaired and strengthened......... (Akbar had agreed to restore the *jagirs* of the recalcitrant nobles, but stipulated "So long as I remain in this neighbourhood they must not come over the river. When I return to the capital, they must send their *vakils* there, and *farmans* for their *jagirs* shall then be issued, under which they may take possession.") But when the Emperor had gone to Chunar, Khan Zaman crossed the river, and went to Muhammadabad, one of the dependencies of Jaunpur, and from thence sent parties of troops to occupy Ghazipur and Jaunpur. As soon as the Emperor returned to his camp, he was informed of this evil proceeding of Ali Kuli Khan's, and he said reproachfully to Khan-khanan, "No sooner than I left this place than Ali Kuli Khan broke the conditions of his pardon." Khan-khanan looked mortified, and endeavoured to make excuse.

'Orders were given to Ashraf Khan *Mir Bakshi* to go to Jaunpur, and make prisoner the mother of Ali Kuli Khan, who was in that city, and to confine her in the fort of Jaunpur. He was also to secure every rebel he could lay hold of.....The Emperor himself, with a considerable force, started off upon a rapid march against Ali Kuli Khan......The forces under the Emperor occupied the banks of the river Sarwar (Saru), and after searching all the jungles, they found that Khan Zaman had gone off to the Siwalik hills. News now arrived that Bahadur Khan had gone to Jaunpur, and liberated his mother. He made Ahraf Khan prisoner, and formed the design of making an attack upon the royal camp. Upon learning this the Emperor gave up the chase of Khan Zaman, and turned towards Jaunpur. . . . . where he ordered a pleasant site to be selected, and a splendid palace to be built; and the nobles also were to build suitable houses and palaces suitable to their rank. For it was determined that so long as Ali Kuli Khan and his brother should remain in this world, Jaunpur should be the capital of the State. The royal forces were sent in pursuit of the fugitives, with instructions to take no rest until they had inflicted the punishment due to them.

'When Ali Kuli heard of this, he left the Siwalik hills, whither he had fled, and came to the side of the Ganges. Then he sent a faithful follower to Court with a message. Khan-khanan .... once more made intercession for Khan Zaman; and the Emperor in his great kindness, once more pardoned his offences ..... Then as required, he expressed contrition for his faults, took an oath of fidelity, and bade his visitors farewell. The Emperor's opponents having repented of their unrighteous deeds, and made their submission, he returned to the capital in the beginning of the 11th year of the reign, 973 H. (12th March, 1566).

Asaf Khan's Surrender.

'The Emperor's mind being now relieved from all anxiety in respect of Ali Kuli Khan and other rebels, Madhi Kasim Khan, one of the old nobles of the Imperial household, was sent with 3,000 or 4,000 men to Garha to settle the affairs of that country, and to capture Asaf Khan. (During the campaign against Khan Zaman, he had suddenly absconded, being afraid lest he should be called on to render the account of his ill-gotten wealth from Chauragarh). Before Madhi Kasim Khan arrived, Asaf Khan quitted the fort of Chauragarh, and went off into the jungles. He wrote a letter full of humility and repentance, to the Emperor, asking permission to go on the pilgrimage. Mahdi Kasim Khan on arriving in Garha, secured all the country, and went in pursuit of Asaf Khan, who then wrote letters to Khan Zaman, proposing to go and join him. Khan Zaman wrote in reply, inviting him to come to him. Asaf Khan, deceived by this, went to Jaunpur; but at the very first audience he beheld the arrogance of Khan Zaman, and was sorry that he had come. (Then after some adventure he went to the Emperor, when he was at Lahore in pursuit of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, and received pardon for his offences.)

Revolt of the Mirzas.

'During the stay at Lahore (also), a letter arrived from Agra, from Munim Khan Khan-khanan, with the intelligence that the sons of Muhammad Sultan Mirza and Ulugh Mirza, by name

Ibrahim Husain Mirza, Muhammad Husain Mirza, and Shah Mirza, who held *jagirs* in the *sarkar* of Sambhal,[1] had broken out in rebellion. And when he, Khan-khanan, had marched as far as Delhi to punish them, they had heard of his approach, and had gone off towards Mandu.

Khan Zaman's Final Suppression.

'A command was given that Asaf Khan, along with Majnun Khan (who had once previously resisted Khan Zaman), should go to Karra-Manikpur, and provide for the safety of the dependent territories. Intelligence now arrived that Ali Kuli Khan, Bahadur Khan, and Sikandar Khan had again broken their engagements, and risen in rebellion (and caused the *khutba* to be read in the name of Mirza Muhammad Hakim—*Akbar-Nama*, ii, p. 359). Hereupon the Emperor placed their *vakil* Mirza Mirak Rizwi in custody of Khan Baki Khan, and leaving the direction of the affairs of the Punjab in the charge of Mir Muhammad Khan and all the Atkas, on the 12th Ramzan, 974 H., (22nd March, 1567), he started on his return to Agra.

'Upon arriving at Agra, the Emperor was informed that Khan Zaman was besieging the fort of Shergarh, four *kos* distant from Kanauj . . . . Nineteen days afterwards, the Emperor left Khan-khanan in charge of the city, and on Monday, the 23rd Shawwal, 974 H. marched towards Jaunpur. When he reached the *pargana* of Saket, Ali Kuli Khan decamped to his brother, who was in Manikpur . . . . . when he reached the *pargana* of Rai Bareilly, he learnt that the rebels had crossed the river Ganges with the object of proceeding towards Kalpi (*Akbar-Nama* says 'Gwalior'). He then direct-

1. These Mirzas were Akbar's distant cousins, whose forebears had received favours at the hands of both Babur and Humayun. 'To every one of them Akbar gave suitable *jagirs*, and advanced them to the dignity of *amirs*. They were constantly in attendance upon His Majesty, rendering their services. When the Emperor returned from his Jaunpur campaign, they repaired to their *jagirs*, and remained in Sambhal. But when His Majesty went to Lahore, to repress the attempt of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, they broke out in rebellion.' (E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 315-16.)

ed his camp to proceed to the fort of Karra, and then marched with all possible speed to the ferry of Manikpur. (There had been heavy rains; the country was flooded and the river much swollen.—*Akbar-Nama*, ii, p. 366). There he crossed the river upon the back of an elephant, and from 1,000 to 1,500 men swam the river along with him. Asaf Khan and Majnun Khan, who were in advance, constantly sent back intelligence of the enemy. It so happened that Ali Kuli Khan had occupied themselves all that night in wine-drinking and licentiousness, and were heedless of everything else. The war-like demonstrations against them they attributed to the daring of Majnun Khan, and would not believe that the Emperor was near at hand.

'On Sunday, the 1st Zi-l hijja, the Emperor made his dispositions for action. He himself took command of the centre. Asaf Khan and all the Atkas were on the right; Majnun Khan and other *amirs* were on the left. . . . .The enemy, being now fully aware of the Emperor's advance, prepared themselves for death. They drew out their forces and sent a body of men to oppose the advanced guard of the Emperor. . . . . As the battle grew hot, the Emperor alighted from his elephant (Balsunder) and mounted a horse. Then he ordered the elephants to be driven against the lines of Ali Kuli Khan. There was among them an elephant named Hiranand, and when he approached the ranks of the enemy, they let loose against him an elephant called Diyana; but Hiranand gave him such a butt, that he fell upon the spot. Ali Kuli Khan received a wound from an arrow, and while he was engaged in drawing it out, another arrow struck his horse. The animal became restive, and Ali Kuli Khan also was thrown. An elephant named Narsing now came up, and was about to crush him when Ali Kuli Khan cried out to the driver, "I am a great man; if you take me alive to the Emperor, he will reward you." The driver paid no heed to his words, but drove the animal over him, and crushed him under foot. When the field was cleared of the enemy, Nazar Bahadur placed Bahadur Khan behind him on a horse, and conducted him to

the presence of the Emperor. By the efforts of the *amirs* he was put to death. After a little while, the head of Ali Kuli (Khan Zaman) was also brought. The Emperor then alighted from his horse, and returned thanks for his victory. This battle was fought at the village of Mankarwal, one of the dependencies of Josi and Prayag, now known as Illahabas, on the 1st Zi-l hijja, 974 H.

'He then proceeded to Benares. Every follower of Ali Kuli Khan who came forward and was submissive to the Emperor's power was pardoned. From Benares he went to Jaunpur, and remained three days in sight of that city. Thence proceeding to the Karra Manikpur fortress he rested there and sent word to Munim Khan. The Khan-khanan, when he came, waited upon His Majesty, and was invested with the care and government of the *jagirs* of Ali Kuli Khan and Bahadur Khan in Jaunpur, Benares, the fort of Chunar and Zamaniya, as far as the ferry of Chaunsa. He also received the present of a splendid robe, and of a horse. In the midst of the rainy season in Zi-l hijja, 974 H., the Emperor began his homeward march, and in Muharram, 975, arrived at Agra.'

(h) Conquest of Rajputana:

"In September 1567 Akbar resolved on the most famous and tragically interesting of his martial enterprises, the siege and capture of Chitor, which deserves narration in exceptional detail," observes Smith.[1] The reasons for the undertaking are variously stated: the Rana had given shelter to Baz Bahadur after his flight from Malwa; he had assisted the rebellious Mirzas; he had not come forward, like the ruler of Amber (Bihar Mal), to offer his submission or a princess of the blood royal in marriage to the Emperor, etc., etc. But the fact is, as Ishwari Prasad points out, "There could be no Indian Empire without the Rajputs, no social or political synthesis without their intelligent and active co-operation. . . The conquest of Mewar was therefore part of a larger enterprise, and the Emperor intended to treat it as a stepping-stone to his further conquest of

1. *Akbar*, p. 81.

the whole of Hindustan."[1] "Akbar being determined to become the undisputed master of all Northern India, could not brook the independence of a chief who was 'proud of his steep mountains and strong castles and turned away the head of obedience from the sublime court.'"[2] Amber had already come into the Imperial net; the fall of Chitor was followed by the surrender of Rantambhor, Kalinjar, Jesalmir, Bikanir, and Jodhpur.

It is well to recollect here also that Rana Sanga, lion in the field of battle, had died about the same time as his vanquisher Babur, in 1530; that his successor in vain had called upon Humayun for succour when Chitor was being attacked by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, in 1534; and that proud and hoary Chitor had lain prostrate and impotent before the adventurous Afghan, Sher Shah in 1544. "It was the ill fate of Mewar to be cursed with a craven prince (Udai Singh) at the critical moment when India was ruled by the ablest, and perhaps the most ambitious, sovereign who has ever swayed her sceptre. 'Udai Singh,' Tod tells us, 'had not one quality of a sovereign; and wanting martial virtue, the common heritage of his race, he was destitute of all.' The historian of the Rajputs justly exclaims that 'well had it been for Mewar had the poniard fulfilled its intention, and had the annals never recorded the name of Udai Singh in the catalogue of the princes.'"[3]

1. The Siege of Chitor.

'Now that the Emperor had returned to the capital, with his mind at rest in respect of Ali Kuli Khan and other rebels,' writes Nizamu-d din, 'he turned his attention towards the capture of Chitor.' On his way thither, the Emperor deemed it necessary to suppress the Mirzas, who had fled from Sambhal and taken refuge in these parts. 'He therefore appointed Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan and other *amirs* to *jagirs* in Mandu, and charged them with that duty. When the *amirs* reached Ujjain, which is one of the chief places in that country, they

1. *A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 363, 364-5.
2. Smith, op. cit., p. 82.
3. Ibid., pp. 85-6.

found that the Mirzas, on hearing of the Emperor's approach, had assembled together and fled to Gujarat . . . So the *amirs* obtained possession of Mandu without opposition.

'When the Emperor marched from Gagrun, Rana Udai Singh left 7,000 or 8,000 men to hold Chitor, under the command of a Rajput named Jai Mal, a valiant chief, who had fought against Mirza Sharafu-d din Hussain, in the fort of Mairtha, as before related. The Rana himself, with all his relatives and dependants, took refuge in the hills and jungles,—and soon built for himself a new capital at Udaipur.

'The fort of Chitor is seated on a hill, which is about one *kos* in height, and has no connexion with any other hill. The length of the fortress is three *kos*. It contains plenty of running water. Under His Majesty's orders, the ground round the fort was portioned out among the different *amirs*. The royal forces were ordered to plunder and lay waste the country, and Asaf Khan was sent to Rampur (about 50 miles south-east of Chitor), a prosperous town of the province. He attacked and captured the fort, and ravaged all the neighbourhood. Husain Kuli Khan was sent with a detachment towards Udaipur and Kombalmir (34 miles north-west of Udaipur), which is one of the chief fortresses in that country, and is the residence of the Rana. He ravaged several towns and villages, but finding no trace of the Rana, he returned to the Imperial camp.

'When the siege of Chitor had been carried on some time, the Emperor ordered the construction of *sabats*,[1] and the digging of mines. About 5000 builders and carpenters and stone-masons were collected, and began their work of constructing *sabats* on two sides of the fort. While the *sabat* was

1. 'A *sabat* is a kind of wall which is begun at musket-shot distance from the fort, and under the shelter of its planks strongly fastened together and covered with raw hides, a kind of way (*kucha*) is conducted to the fortress. The walls are then battered from it with guns, and a breach being made, the brave assailants rush into the fort. The *sabat* which was conducted from the royal battery (*morchal-i-badshahi*) was so extensive that ten horsemen abreast could ride along it, and it was so high that an elephant-rider with his spear in his hand could pass under it.'—E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 326.

in course of construction, the garrison kept up such a fire of guns and muskets, that more than 100 of the workmen and labourers employed in it were killed daily, although they covered themselves with shields of bull-hide. Corpses were used in the walls like bricks. In a short time, the *sabat* was completed, and carried close to the fort. The miners also carried their mines to the foot of the walls, and having constructed mines under two bastions which were near together, they filled them with gun-powder. A party of men of well-known bravery fully armed and accoutred, approached the bastions, ready to rush into the fort as soon as a breach was made by the explosion of the mines. Fire was applied to both mines at the same time, but the match of one was shorter than the other, and that made the explosion first. The bastion was blown into the air, and a large breach was effected. The storming party at once rushed to the breach, and were about to enter, when the second mine exploded and the bastion was blown up. Friends and foes who were contending in the breach, were hurled into the air together, and those also on whom the stones fell perished. It is notorious that stones of 200 *mans* were carried to a distance of three or four *kos* from the walls, and also bodies of men who had been burnt were found. Saiyid Jamalu-ddin and a great number of the Emperor's attendants were slain, and nearly 500 picked soldiers were killed by blows from the stones. A large number also of the infidels perished.

'After this disaster, the pride and solicitude of the Emperor became still more intent upon the reduction of the fortress. A *sabat* which had been laid down in the battery of Shuja'at Khan was now completed. On the night of Tuesday, 25th Sha'ban, 975, the Imperial forces assembled from all sides, and the wall being breached, a grand struggle began. Jai Mal, commander of the fortress, came into the breach to encourage his men. The Emperor was seated in a gallery, which had been erected for him on the *sabat*, and he had a musket in his hand. The face of Jai Mal was discernible by the light which was cast upon the spot by the fire of the guns and muskets. The Emperor took aim at him, and so wounded him that he

died on the spot. The garrison was disheartened by the fall of their leader, and each man hurried to his own home. They collected their wives and children, property and effects, in one place and burnt them.[1] This proceeding in the language of the infidels of Hind, is called *jauhar*. The royal forces were now massed, and they assaulted the breaches in several places. Many of the infidels rushed forward to defend them, and fought most valiantly. His Majesty, seated on the *sabat*, beheld the exertions of his men with an approving eye. Adil Muhammad Kandahari. . . ...and others exhibited great valour and daring, and received great praise. All that night fighting went on, but in the morning, which was a glorious morning, the place was subdued. The Emperor mounted on an elephant, and, attended by his devoted followers on foot, entered the fortress. An order for a general massacre was issued, and more than 8,000 Rajputs who were in the place received the reward of their deeds. After noon the slaughter was stayed, and the Emperor returned to his camp, where he remained three days. Asaf Khan was appointed to rule this country, and His Majesty started for the capital, on Tuesday, the 25th Sha'ban.[2]

1. Among the heroic incidents that followed the death of Jai Mal was the fall of Patta, a lad of 16 summers; but he was married, and 'lest any "soft compunctious visitings for one dearer than herself might dim the lustre of Kailwa", his mother armed the young bride with a lance, with her descended the rock, and the defenders of Chitor saw her fall, fighting by the side of her Amazonian mother. When their wives and daughters performed such heroic deeds, the Rajputs became reckless of life.' Patta fell fighting, being crushed to death by an elephant. At the time Akbar saw him 'there was a breath of life in him, but he shortly afterwards died.' Akbar nobly commemorated his appreciation of these heroic sacrifices by erecting in his palace-garden fine statues in honour of Jai Mal and Patta. "One of the facts gratifying to national vanity, which helped to heal the wounds of the Rajput heart," says Smith, "was the erection of fine statues in honour of Jai Mal and Patta, the defenders of Chitor."—*Akbar*, pp. 93-6.

2. 'A curious incident in this siege was this: A person was sitting near the battery of the author of this book, under the shelter of a tree, with his right hand placed upon his knee. As an opportunity presented itself, he raised his thumb, covered with the stall usually worn by archers, and just at the moment a gun was fired from the fortress

'When the Emperor started to effect the conquest of Chitor, he vowed that if he were successful, he would make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Khwaja Mu'inu-d din Chishti, which is at Ajmir. In performance of this vow, he set off for Ajmir, and walked all the way on foot. On Sunday, the 7th Ramzan, he reached Ajmir. He performed all the observances of the pilgrimage, and made the poor and needy glad with his alms and offerings. He remained there ten days, and then departed for the capital. (He reached Agra in March, 1568.)

2. Rantambhor.

'After a stay of some months at Agra, the Emperor resolved to attack the fort of Rantambhor, renowned as one of the strongest and highest fortresses of Hindustan. An order was issued for the assembling of those troops which had not been engaged in the siege of Chitor . . . . When the *amirs* had marched several stages, intelligence reached the Emperor of disturbances created by the Mirzas, who had escaped from Gujarat, and laid siege to the fort of Ujjain, in Malwa. The Emperor then directed that Kalij Khan with the *amirs* and the army that had been sent to Rantambhor, should undertake the repression of the revolt of the Mirzas.

The two forces united according to the order......The army had now grown very large. When the Mirzas were apprised of its approach, they raised the siege of Ujjain, and went off towards Mandu......All marched together in pursuit of the Mirzas, who fled before them from Mandu to the banks of the Narbada. They crossed the river in such confusion, that many of their men were drowned......The Mirzas then fled to Gujarat...The remainder of this transaction will be told in its proper place......

'The Emperor marched at the opening of the year (22nd Feb. 1569) towards Rantambhor,[1] and in a short period

and the ball passed within the length of a barley-corn from his thumb and did him no harm.'—Nizamu-d din Ahmad, *Tabakat-i Akbari*, E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 328.)

1. San. *Ranastambhapura* is now in the SE corner of the Jaipur State, a few miles from the Bundi border, and about 140 miles NE from Chitor.

arrived at the foot of the fort. The place was invested, batteries raised, *sabats* constructed, and several breaches were effected by battering with cannon. Rai Surjan, the commander of the fort, when he observed the progress of the siege, was brought down from the pinnacle of his pride and insolence and he sent out his two sons, Dudh and Bhoj by name, to ask for terms. His Majesty received kindly the two young men, who had come to seek his mercy, and pardoned their transgressions. He sent Husain Kuli Khan, who had received the title of Khan-Jahan into the fort to give assurances to Rai Surjan. He did so and brought the Rai to wait upon the Emperor when he made a frank submission, and was enrolled among the royal servants.[1]

3. Kalinjar.

'This is a strong fortress, and many former Sultans had been ambitious of taking it. Sher Khan Afghan (Sher Shah) besieged it for a year, but was killed in the attempt to take it. During the interregnum of the Afghans, Raja Ram Chandar had purchased the fort at a high price from Bijilli Khan...The renown of the conquest of the forts of Chitor and Rantambhor spread through the world, and the men of the Imperial army who held *jagirs* in the neighbourhood of Kalinjar were constantly forming plans for the capture of that fort, and were anxious to begin the war. Raja Ram Chandar was an experienced and prudent man, and considered himself an adherent of the Imperial throne. He sent by his envoy the keys of the fortress and suitable offerings, with congratulations for the victories achieved, to the Emperor. On the same day the custody of the fortress was given into the charge of Majnun Khan, one of the *jagirdars* of the quarter, and a friendly *farman* was sent to Raja Ram Chandar. The fortress came into the possession of

1. According to other accounts, Raja Bhagwandas of Amber and Man Singh used their influence to 'make Surjan Hara (Chauhan) faithless to his pledge—"to hold the castle as a fief of Chitor"...The proffered bribe was indeed magnificent—the government of 52 districts, whose revenues were to be appropriated without enquiry, on furnishing the customary contingent, and liberty to name any other terms, which should be solemnly guaranteed by the King.' (Smith, op. cit., pp. 98-9.)

the Emperor in the month of Safar, 977 H., in the fourteenth year of his reign.[1]

4. Jodhpur and Bikanir.

'When the Emperor was staying at Nagor, Chander Sen, son of Rai Maldeo, came to pay his allegiance and make his offerings. Raja Kalyan Mal, the Raja of Bikanir, also came with his son, Rai Singh, to wait upon His Majesty, and present his tribute. The loyalty and sincerity of both father and son being manifest, the Emperor married Kalyan Mal's daughter. For fifty days he shed the light of his justice and equity upon the poor people of Nagor. From thence he proceeded to Ajodan, to pay a visit to the tomb of Shaikh Faridu-d din Masud Ganj-i Shakar. Rai Kalyan Mal, who was so fat that he could not ride on horseback, now received permission to return to Bikanir; but his son was ordered to remain in attendance upon His Majesty, in which he received high promotion.'

Results of the Rajput Campaigns.

These campaigns by no means completed the reduction of Rajputana. A still more arduous war remained to be waged against the intrepid Rana Pratap, who had 'the courage never to submit or yield'. But there was a respite of about seven years, from August 1569 to July 1576, before the

1. Abu-l Fazl's rhetorical flourish about the conquest of this fortress is typical of his manner:—'When the report of the capture of Chitor and Rantambhor resounded in the ears of the haughty ones, every one whose eyes had been in a measure touched by the collirium of understanding saw that there was no remedy except to lay down the head of presumption on the ground of submission. Raja Ramchand, who possessed some rays of intelligence, heard of the arrival of the holy cortege at the capital and asked for quarter. He made over the fort to the Imperial servants and sent the keys along with splendid presents by confidential agents to the sublime threshold, and offered his congratulations on the recent victories. His wisdom and foresight were approved of, and his agents were received with favour. The government of the fort was made over to Majnun Khan Kakshal. By this felicity of the Shahinshah's fortune, such a fortress, upon whose battlements the eagle of the imagination of former rulers had never lighted, came into the possession of the Imperial servants without the trouble of a battle or contest.' (*Akbar-Nama*, ii, p. 499.)

'sword of Islam' again struck the Hindu with his own hand. Meantime it is worthwhile taking note of some of the outstanding features and results of these early efforts. Whatever might have been Akbar's motives in the conquest, he had stormed and taken Mairtha, "the second city in Marwar"; Raja Bharmal of Amber had "anticipated the King, enrolled himself and his son Bhagwandas amongst his vassals, given the Chaghatai a daughter to wife, and held his country as a fief of the Empire". More had been achieved since. The proud Rana had been driven to seek refuge in the hills; Chitor had been taken; so also Rantambhor and Kalinjar. Jodhpur and Bikanir too had submitted, at least for the time being. Tod characterises these events with the following observations:—

"Akbar was the real founder of the Empire of the Moguls, the first successful conqueror of Rajput independence; to this end his virtues were powerful auxiliaries, as by his skill in the analysis of the mind and its readiest stimulant to action, he was enabled to guild the chains with which he bound them. To these they became familiarised by habit, especially when the throne exerted its power in acts gratifying to national vanity, or even in ministering to the more ignoble passions. But generations of the martial races were cut off by his sword, and lustres rolled away ere his conquests were sufficiently confirmed . . ...He was long ranked with Shabudin, Allaudin, and other instruments of destruction, and with every just claim; like these he constructed a *Mumba* (pulpit) for the Koran from the altars of Eklinga; yet he finally succeeded in healing wounds his ambition had inflicted, and received from millions that meed of praise, which no other of his race ever obtained."[1]

Akbar came into contact with three distinct types of Rajputs: (1) those like Amber that easily submitted, and were readily assimilated into the Imperial system; (2) those that put up a decent fight or came to an honourable settlement with the conqueror, like Rantambhor; and (3) those that refused to be assimilated, and sought refuge either in flight or persistent

1. Tod, *Rajasthan*, i, p. 338.

fight, like the Ranas of Mewar. The first two by their very submission showed a spirit of compromise and assimilation which was quite necessary in the building up of a united nation towards which Akbar was bending the whole might of his genius; the last, by its eternal hatred, unconquerable pride, and courage never to submit or yield, contributed its own quota to the strength and nobility of our national character. The treaty that was drawn up between Akbar and the Haras is noteworthy for its dignified statesmanship :—

The *Annals of Bundi* record— 'A treaty was drawn up on the spot, and mediated by the Prince of Amber (Jaipur), which presents a good picture of Hindu feeling. They were (1) that the chiefs of Bundi should be exempted from that custom, degrading to a Rajput, of sending a *dola* (bride) to the royal *harem*; (2) exemption from the *jizya* or poll-tax; (3) that the chiefs of Bundi should not be compelled to cross the Attock; (4) that the vassals of Bundi should be exempted from the obligation of sending female relatives "to hold a stall in the Mina bazaar" at the palace, on the festival of *Nauroz* (New Year's Day); (5) that they should have the privilege of entering the *Diwan-i-am*, or "Hall of Audience" completely armed; (6) that their sacred edifices should be respected; (7) that they should never be placed under the command of a Hindu leader; (8) that their horses should not be branded with the Imperial *dagh* (a flower branded on the forehead); (9) that they should be allowed to beat their *nakkaras*, or kettle-drums, in the streets of the capital as far as the Lal Darwaza or Red Gate; (10) that they should not be commanded to make the "prostration" (*sijda*) on entering the presence; and (11) that Bundi should be to the Haras what Delhi was to the King, who should guarantee them from any change of capital.'[1]

But, as noted above, "the most famous and tragically interesting" of Akbar's martial enterprises, *viz.*, the destruction of Chitor which was "sanctified by the memory of eight centuries of heroic deeds and heart-rending tragedies, wounded deeply the Rajput soul. The place became accursed, and to

1. Cited by Smith, op. cit., p. 99.

this day no successor of Udai Singh would dare to set foot within the limits of the once sacred stronghold of his ancestors. The 'sin of the slaughter of Chitor' like the 'curse of Cromwell' in Ireland, has become proverbial, and the memory of it is kept alive, or was so kept a hundred years ago, by a curious custom. It is said that Akbar estimated the total of the Rajput dead by collecting and weighing the 'Brahmanical cords' (*janeo* or *zanar*), which it is the privilege and obligation of high caste men to wear. The recorded amount was 74½ *mans* of about eight pounds each. ['To eternise the memory of this disaster the numerals 74½ are *tilak* or accursed. Marked on the banker's letter in Ranjasthan it is the strongest of seals, for "the sin of the slaughter of Chitor" is thereby invoked on all who violate a letter under the safeguard of this mysterious number.'] The wrath of the conqueror fell upon what Tod calls the 'symbols of regality' as well as the persons of the vanquished. The gates of the fortress were taken off their hinges and removed to Agra. The *nakkaras*, or huge kettle-drums, eight or ten feet in diameter, the reverberations of which had been wont to proclaim 'for miles around the entrance and exit of her princes', as well as the massive candelabra from the shrine of the 'Great Mother', who had girt Bappa Rawal with the sword by which Chitor was won, were also taken away ....The recreant Rana Udai Singh (who had fled to the Aravallis at Akbar's approach, and founded there his new capital of Udaipur) died at Gogunda in the Aravalli hills four years after the storm of the fortress which he should have defended in person. His valiant successor, Rana Pratap Singh (about whom later), waged a long war with Abkar, and gradually recovered much of Mewar. But Chitor remained desolate."[1]

(i) Conquest of Gujarat:

The rich province of Gujarat had been won and lost by Humayun, and Akbar could therefore put forth some legitimate claim for its reconquest. The possession of numerous ports and the resulting extensive maritime commerce made Gujarat the

1. Ibid., pp. 90-2.

richest kingdom in India. Ahmadabad, the capital, was justly reputed to be one of the finest cities in the world, while the manufacture of salt, cloth, paper, and other commodities flourished in many localities." The confusion into which Gujarat fell soon after the death of Bahadur Shah has already been hinted at. 'In the Court of the Emperor,' writes Nizamu-d din, 'conversation continually turned upon the state of affairs in Gujarat, and information was often brought about the oppression and wilfulness of its petty rulers, and about the ruin of its towns and cities.[1] Now that His Majesty's mind was quite set at rest by the suppression of rebels, and the reduction of their lofty forts, he turned his attention to the conquest of Gujarat.'

Akbar marched out from his capital on 4th July, 1572, and 'proceeded, enjoying the chase on his way, to Ajmir'. He also visited the tombs of some of the saints, 'and gladdened the hearts of the *shaikhs* and attendants with his munificent gifts.' Then he sent Mirza Muhammad Khan Atka, 'better known by the title of Khan-i kalan', with 10,000 horse in advance. The Emperor himself marched *via* Nagor, Mirath, and Sirohi, and sent one of his officers, to make sure of the territory of Jodhpur, and keep the road to Gujarat open, so that none of the Ranas might be able to inflict any loss. This duty was imposed upon Rai Singh Bikaniri, who was sent with a strong force of Imperial troops. *Farmans* were (also) written to the *amirs* and *jagirdars* of that province, directing them to render Rai Singh every assistance he might require......

'The Emperor ....arrived in Patan, and rested there for

1. Ahmadabad.

a week. The government of the country was conferred upon Saiyid Ahmad Khan Barha, a man of courage and resolution, who had numerous

1. "The country was at that time without a settled government being divided into seven warring principalities, over which the nominal King, Muzaffar Shah III, a prince of doubtful legitimacy, exercised little authority. Such a condition of affairs seemed almost to demand the interposition of a power capable of enforcing order. Akbar, in fact, was actually invited by one of the local princelings named Itimad Khan to put an end to the prevailing anarchy." (Ibid., p. 110.)

friends and allies among the Saiyids of Hindustan. At this halt Raja Man Singh returned, bringing in a large booty, which he had taken from the remnant of the Afghans. The Emperor then marched towards Ahmadabad. Sher Khan Fuladi had been engaged for six months besieging Ahmadabad, which was held by Itimad Khan (' The slave and prime minister of Sultan Mahmud Gujarati', originally a Hindu slave—Badauni, ii, p. 141 ; *Ain.*, ii, p. 385) ; but when he heard of the Emperor's approach, he took to flight. The Emperor had hardly advanced two stages from Patan, when Sultan Muzaffar, son of Sultan Mahmud Gujarati, whom Itimad Khan had kept continually in confinement, came with a great display of respect to meet the Emperor...The next day, Itimad Khan, the ruler of Ahmadabad,.....and other *amirs* and chiefs of Gujarat, too numerous to mention, came in to wait upon the Emperor, and make their offerings. Itimad Khan presented the keys of Ahmadabad, and showed every sign of submission. The officers of the Court were suspicious of evil designs on the part of the *Habshis* (Abyssinians), and brought the matter to the notice of His Majesty, and although he desired to act generously and royally towards them, as a precaution he committed them to the charge of some of his attendants. The Emperor then marched on, and on Friday, 14th Rajab, pitched his camp on the banks of the river of Ahmadabad (Sabarmati). The *khutba* was read in the name of the Emperor, and all the people of the city and environs came to offer congratulations and thanksgivings.

2. Cambay.

'Ibrahim Husain Mirza and Muhammad Husain Mirza held Broach, Baroda, and Surat in defiance of the Emperor. So he resolved to free the country of Gujarat from their rebellious power. On Monday, 2nd Sha'ban, he started from the river of Ahmadabad, and marched towards Cambay. Itimad Khan and other Gujarati *amirs* were, at the request of some of the great officials, allowed to remain behind in Ahmadabad for a few days to arrange their affairs. Seizing this opportunity, Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk, one of the chief nobles of Gujarat, fled...from Ahmadabad to

Ahmadnagar. As no reliance could be placed on the nobles of Gujarat, Itimad Khan was given into the custody of Shahbaz Khan Kambu. On the 6th the Emperor reached Cambay. He went to look at the sea, and leaving Cambay on the 12th, he reached Baroda on the 14th. After reflecting upon the best means of guarding and governing the country of Gujarat, he appointed Mirza Aziz Muhammad Kokaltash, the *Khan-i azam*, to be the governor of the country, and especially of its capital Ahmadabad.' Here it is necessary to note that while at Cambay, for the first time, Akbar received a body of Portuguese merchants who came to pay their respects, and thus made his first acquaintance with the Christians, which event was fraught with great consequences in the future.

3. Battle of Sarnal.

'After the departure of Azam Khan, the Emperor determined upon attacking the fortress of Surat which was the home and stronghold of the Mirzas. To effect this purpose he sent Saiyid Mahmud Khan Barha, Raja Bhagwan Das, Kunwar Man Singh, and several others to overpower Husain Mirza, who was in Surat. Next day, 17th Shah'ban, when one watch of the night was passed, intelligence was brought in that Ibrahim Khan Mirza, having heard at Broach of the Emperor's advance had murdered Rustum Khan Rumi ('who was desirous of returning to his allegiance '—*Akbar-Nama*.), and then left the town, intending to pass about eight *kos* distance from the Emperor's camp, and to raise disturbances and rebellion elsewhere.

'Hearing of this the Emperor's wrath was kindled...... The remainder of the night and the greater part of the next day, he kept up the pursuit for a long distance. When night came on, he arrived with forty horsemen on the banks of the river Mahindri. Ibrahim Husain Mirza was in the town of Sarnal, on the other side of the river. When they heard this the Emperor's followers endeavoured to conceal themselves... .. Kunwar Man Singh, at his own solicitation, was placed in command of the advanced guard. Although the whole of his followers did not number more than 100 men, the Emperor

without hesitation, determined to attack. They dashed into the river and crossed over..... Every man of the Imperial force fought desperately, and killed a great many of the enemy. Bhupat, son of Raja Bihar Mal, a very brave young man, made a charge upon the enemy, and fell. Emboldened by his fall, the enemy renewed his attack. But the royal forces were in a contracted spot, where three horsemen could not pass abreast, as it was hedged in with thorns. The Emperor had, with great courage, gone to the front, and Raja Bhagwan Das had kept with him. Three of the enemy's horsemen now charged them, and one of them attacked the Raja. As his adversary was entangled among the thorns, Raja Bhagwan Das hurled his spear at him, so that he withdrew. The other two assaulted His Majesty, who received them so valiantly that they were obliged to make off.

'The royal forces, seeing the danger in which the Emperor had been placed, were roused to desperation, and made a fierce onslaught upon the enemy. Ibrahim Husain Mirza was disheartened and took to flight..... The Emperor went into the town of Sarnal, and offered thanks for his victory. Every man who served in this engagement received his reward in increased rank and in *jagirs*.... On Wednesday, the 18th Sha'ban,.. the Emperor rejoined his camp at Baroda. Next day he conferred a banner and a kettle-drum on Raja Bhagwan Das, who had so greatly distinguished himself in this action.

4. Surat.

'The fortress of Surat is small, but exceedingly strong and secure, and remarkable among fortresses. It is said that a slave of Sultan Mahmud Gujarati, who received the title of Khudawand Khan, built this fortress on the sea-shore (really on the bank of the river Tapi, 20 miles from the sea), in the year 947 H., in order to resist the attacks of the Europeans, for before the fort was built, the Europeans did all kinds of mischief to the Musalmans. When Khudawand was engaged in the erection of the fort, the Europeans several times fitted out ships to attack it, but could not succeed in their object..... On the two sides of

the fort which faces the land, he formed ditches reaching to the water, which were 20 yards wide, and filled with water; they were built of stone, *chunam*, and burnt bricks. The thickness of the double walls is five yards, and height twenty yards... It is a remarkable circumstance that each stone is firmly fastened to the next with cramps of iron, having molten lead poured into the interstices. The battlements and embrasures are formed of stone, and are formidable to look at. On the top of the tower there is a *choukhandi* which, in the opinion of Europeans, is an invention of the Portuguese. When the Europeans were unable to prevent the erection of this fortress by force of arms, they offered large sums of money to prevent the raising of this structure. But Khudawand, in contempt of the Europeans, rejected their application and raised the structure..........

'When the Emperor returned from Sarnal to Baroda, he renewed his design of conquering Surat..... The Emperor sent Raja Todar Mal to examine and ascertain precisely the inlets and outlets of the fortress. After a week he returned and made his report. His Majesty, relying on the help of the Almighty, left Baroda.... and encamped at a distance of a *kos* from Surat on the 18th Ramzan. On the same night he went up and reconnoitred the fort. He distributed the batteries among the *amirs*, and three days afterwards he moved his camp, and pitched his tent so near the fortress that cannon shot and musket balls could reach it.

'The siege was pressed on, and in a short time the way for drawing water was closed. After it had gone on for two months, the besiegers advanced their batteries, so that every way of ingress and egress was closed...... Every hole big enough for a mouse was closed. The miners pushed their mines under the bastions, and made such progress that the capture of the place was a mere matter of to-day or to-morrow. When the garrison perceived the state of affairs, they were reduced to the greatest alarm and distress. The wretched disloyal Ham-zaban and all the people in the fort sent out Maulana Nizamu-d din Lari, who was a student and an eloquent

man, to sue for quarter. . . . His Majesty, in his gentleness and humanity, granted the petition. . . . . . Lari returned to the fortress with the glad news of quarter having been conceded. A royal order was then issued for Kasim Ali Khan . . . . to proceed into the fortress with the Maulana, to give assurances to the men of the garrison and to bring them out with him. An order was also given for a party of trustworthy clerks to be sent in to seize upon all property, live-stock and dead-stock, and take care that nothing was lost. The names of all the people in the place were written down, and the list was presented to the Emperor . . . . . . In gratitude for the victory, the Emperor pardoned the common people and inhabitants of the place, but Ham-zaban and some others, who were the instigators of all the strife, were punished and kept in custody. This conquest was effected on the 23rd Shawwal, in the year 980 H., (the siege having lasted one month and seventeen days).—26th Feb., 1573.

5. Patan.

'While the Emperor was engaged in the siege of Surat several events occurred. Among them was the journey of Ibrahim Husain Mirza to Hindustan, for the purpose of raising disturbances. After his defeat at Sarnal, Ibrahim fled to the neighbourhood of Patan, where he joined Muhammad Husain Mirza and Shah Mirza and informed them of his escape, and of the siege of Surat. After consultation it was resolved that Ibrahim should go into Hindustan and create disturbances, while the other two Mirzas laid siege to Patan ; their expectation being that the Emperor, on receiving intelligence of these proceedings, would abandon the siege of Surat, and fall back upon Ahmadabad, to repress these two outbreaks. . . . . . .

'They invested Patan. Saiyid Ahmad Khan Barha (the governor) put the fort in order, and shut himself up. He sent an account of the investment to the Emperor, who, on hearing it, issued orders. . . . .to repress this rebellious attempt. The nobles accordingly joined Azam Khan and marched to Patan . . .The Mirzas fell upon the advance and defeated it. . . . .When Azam Khan saw the defeat of his right and left,

and the fall of Muhammad Bukhari, he resolved to make a bold attempt to retrieve matters, and to dash into the fight . . . . When the enemy's men dispersed in search of plunder, and there remained but a few in array, Azam Khan . . . . formed his ranks and fell upon the enemy's centre. By God's help, victory declared in their favour, and the foe was scattered on every side . . . Muhammad Husain Mirza fled to the Dakhin. This victory was won on the 18th Ramzan, 980'.

In March, 1573, 'the Emperor arrived at Ahmadabad and there he entrusted the government of Gujarat to Khan-i azam (Mirza Koka). On the 10th Zi-l hijja, the *Id-zuha*, he commenced his journey to the capital. On his way Muzaffar Khan (late King of Gujarat) received the Imperial bounty: The *sarkars* of Surangpur and Ujjain in Malwa were taken from the Rani and granted to him, with fifty *lacs* of *tankas* in *jagir* . . . . At one stage from Ajmir, the Emperor received the communication from Said Khan, the governor of Multan, to inform him of the death of Ibrahim Husain Mirza........On the 12th Muharram 981, in the eighteenth year of the reign, the Emperor paid a visit to the tomb of Khwaja Muinu-d din Chishti, and observed the usual ceremonies, and dispensed his customary gifts. He remained there a week, and every morning and evening paid a visit to the tomb, showing strict attention to all the observances.

6. Rebellion in Gujarat.

'When the Emperor returned from Gujarat, there remained no resistance in that country, all the forts were in the hands of his servants, and such of his troops as had not served on the campaigns were sent to strengthen Azam Khan. But he had hardly been six months in his capital, when news of fresh outbreaks came in time after time, and Azam Khan himself wrote for reinforcements.

'The rebels, having assembled round Ikhtiyaru-l got possession of Ahmadnagar and the surrounding territory. Muhammad Husain Mirza left the Dakhin with the intention of attempting the recapture of Surat. Kalij Khan, who was *jagirdar* of the fort, made it secure, and prepared for a siege; so

Husain Mirza gave up the project and made a rapid march upon Cambay. (On his way he got possession of Broach. Hasan Khan Karkarah, the *Shikkdar*, being unable to make any resistance, fled to Ahmadabad................At length the Mirza was worsted, and fled to join Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk. Azam Khan, who had marched against Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk, took a position near Ahmadnagar. He several times attacked him, and fighting went on for several days between Ahmadnagar and Idar with no decisive result............

'Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk, Muhammad Husain Mirza, and the other insurgents, got together a force of 20,000 men—Mughals, Gujaratis, Hubshis, Afghans, and Rajputs—around Ahmadabad. The Raja of Idar also kept up a connexion with them............ Khan-i azam daily sent off despatches to the Emperor, calling for help. The Emperor therefore resolved once more to raise his banner in Gujarat, to clear the country of the rebels, and to uproot their families.........In the early morning of Sunday, 24th Rabi' u-l akhir, 981, the Emperor with his companions and attendants, mounted swift she-camels and took their departure. On that day he rode to the town of Toda (about 70 miles W. by S. from Agra) without drawing rein. There he ate what he could get, and rode on......On Tuesday, he reached the tomb of Chishti at Ajmir (140 *kos*; "228 miles"—Thornton), where he went through the usual observances and bestowed his gifts upon the poor......

'Although the horsemen under his colours were only 3000 in number, and the enemy had more than 20,000, he put his trust in God, and in the latter part of the day marched from Bhilsan towards Ahmadabad. A messenger was sent to apprise Khan-i azam of his approach. He marched all night, and on Tuesday, 3rd Jumada awwal, he reached Kari, a town 20 *kos* from Ahmadabad. The scouts now brought in the intelligence that a large force of the enemy had come out of the fort to give battle. Orders were accordingly given to attack them and drive them from the road but not to incur any embarrassment by attacking the fort. This was accomplished in the twinkling of an eye, and those of the enemy

who escaped the sword, threw themselves into the fort. .... Asaf Khan was sent to Khan-i azam, to inform him of the proximity of the Emperor, and directing him to effect a junction. *Thus, in nine days, the Emperor marched from Fathpur to the outskirts of Ahmadabad, a feat which it is difficult for the pen to describe.*'

Battle of Ahmadabad.

It was now discovered that the enemy, drunk with wine, were asleep on the bed of heedlessness, quite unaware of the approach of the royal army. The feeling ran through the royal ranks that it was unmanly to fall upon an enemy unawares, and that they would wait till he was roused. When the blast of the trumpets was heard, the enemy, amazed and alarmed, rushed to their horses.......The Emperor perceived some signs of weakness in the advanced force, so he gave the word, and charged the enemy like a fierce tiger. Another body of the forces came up and took them in the flank... Muhammad Husain Mirza and Shah Mirza struggled manfully, but ill-luck attended them, so they turned and fled. .... Muhammad Husain Mirza had received a wound, and in his haste to make his escape, he put his horse at a thorn-hedge, but the animal fell. One of the royal troops, threw himself from his horse and made him prisoner...... Victory now declared itself on every side, and His Majesty returned triumphant to his couch, which was placed at the edge of the battle-field, and there he offered up his thanks for the victory vouchsafed. (Sept. 2, 1573).

'Gada Ali Badakhshi and a servant of the Khan-i kalan now brought in the wounded Muhammad Husain Mirza a prisoner, each laying claim to the honour of capturing him. Raja Birbal[1] asked him who made him prisoner, and he

1. His original name was Brahma Das, and he was, according to Badauni, 'a bard who was distinguished above all his compeers for his skill in celebrating the achievements of great men, and he used to make excellent Hindi verses. He was some years in the service of the Emperor, and was admitted among the number of his private attendants, when he received the title of Kab Rai, chief of poets.'..... Later, 'the Emperor, having given to Kab Rai the title of Raja Birbal, bestowed upon him the country of Nagarkot.'—E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 356.

replied, "Ingratitude to His Majesty"; and he spoke the truth.' Both Husain Mirza and Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk were executed. Then the Emperor ordered that a pyramid should be raised of the heads of the rebels who had fallen in the battle, and these were more than 2000 in number. After this he proceeded into Ahmadabad, and occupied the royal abode which is in the citadel. The men of the city of all ranks waited upon him with their offerings and congratulations.... .His first act was to see that all those who had rendered good service in this campaign should receive their due reward in advanced rank and increased allowances. Eloquent scribes were employed to write despatches of the victory, and the heads of Muhammad Husain Mirza and Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk were sent to be hung up over the gates of Agra and Fathpur.'

7. Final settlement of Gujarat.

This sharp action broke the back of the rebellioin in Gujarat. Having accomplished this, he appointed Kutbu-d din Muhammad Khan and Naurang Khan to Broach and Champanir, to uproot the power of Shah Mirza, who was the only Mirza yet remaining to be subdued. Raja Bhagwan Das, Shah Kuli Mahram, and several others were sent to Idar, to ravage the country which Rana Udai Singh had abandoned. The government of Patan was again confided to Khan-i kalan. Khawaja Ghiyasu-d din Ali Bakshi, who had rendered good service in this campaign, received the title of Asaf Khan (II), and he was appointed *diwan* and *bakshi* of Gujarat. So he remained behind with Khan-i azam, who was entrusted with the full charge of the province as before. The Emperor left Ahmadabad on Sunday, 16th Jumada-l awwal; "he was back in Fathpur-Sikri within forty-three days from the time he had ridden out. Considering the distance travelled, *Akbar's second Gujarat expedition may be described safely as the quickest campaign on record.* The victor, spear in hand, rode proudly into his capital, on Monday, October 5, 1573."[1]

'The revenues of Gujarat had not been paid up satisfactorily,' says Nizamu-d din; 'so the Raja (Todar Mal) was

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 120.

sent to ascertain and settle the assets, and draw up an account of them for the royal exchequer.' This capable officer, about whom we shall learn more later, " effected the measurement of the greater part of the lands in the short space of six months. The province, as recognized, yielded more than five millions of rupees annually to the Emperor's private treasury, after the expenses of the administration had been defrayed. The work so well begun by Raja Todar Mal was continued by another revenue expert, Shihabu-d din Ahmad Khan, who was viceroy from 1577 to 1583 or 1584. He rearranged the *sarkars* or administrative districts, so that sixteen were included in the province. The conquest of 1573 was final, although disturbances continued to occur. Gujarat remained under the government of the Imperial viceroys until 1758, when Ahmadabad was definitely taken by the Mahrattas. . . . . . . *Akbar's system of administration may be said to have been definitely planned in 1573 and 1574, immediately after the conquest of Gujarat.*"[1]

Conquest of Bihar and Bengal.

Bihar and Bengal had been overrun by the Mughals, but not wholly subdued. Humayun had occupied Gaur, the capital of Bengal, for a short period, but he was immediately driven out by the Afghans. The Surs had established their sovereignty up to the borders of Assam. 'Suleiman Kirani, one of the *amirs* of Salim Shah, and ruler of Bengal and Bihar, who had always in his letters acknowledged himself a vassal of the Imperial throne, died while the Emperor was engaged in his Surat campaign, in the year 981 H.[2] His eldest son Bayazid succeeded, but he was murdered by the *amirs* ('In consequence of his evil conduct.'—Badauni, ii, p. 173), and the younger son raised to the throne.

1. Ibid, pp. 120-21.

2. The correct year of his death, according to Smith, is 980 (1572), as in Badauni, ii. 166, not 981 (1573) as above. Suleiman's death seems to have been 'much regretted by his subjects, and (he was) highly respected by all his contemporaries.'—Ibid., p. 124.

'The Emperor was informed that Daud had stepped out of his proper sphere, and assumed the title of King, and through his morose temper had destroyed the fort of Patna, which Khan Zaman built when he was ruler of Jaunpur.[1] A *farman* was immediately sent to Khan-khanan, directing him to chastise Daud, and to conquer the country of Bihar.

1. Fall of Patna and Hajipur.

'At that time Daud was at Hajipur, and his chief noble, Lodi, who was in open hostility to him, was in the fort of Rohtas, and set up a claim to independence. Khan-khanan Munim Khan marched with the Imperial forces against Patna and Hajipur. Lodi, knowing the destruction of the Afghans to be certain, notwithstanding his hostility towards Daud, made a sort of peace with Khan-khanan. The old friendship and respect which Khan-khanan had for the late Suleiman Kirani led him to agree that, upon the payment of two *lacs* of *rupees* in money and one *lac* in stuffs as a tribute, the Imperial forces should be withdrawn. Then having sent Jalal Khan Krori, he entered into a peace with Daud.

'But Daud was a dissolute scamp, and knew nothing of the business of governing. At the instigation of Katlu Khan and Sridhar Hindu Bengali, and through his own want of judgment, he seized Lodi, his *amiru-l umara* (prime minister), and put him in confinement under the charge of Sridhar Bengali. When in prison, Lodi sent for Katlu and Sridhar, and sent Daud this message: "If you consider my death to be for the welfare of the country, put your mind quickly at ease about it; but you will be very sorry for it after I am dead. You have never given me any good wishes or advice, but still I am willing to advise you. Act upon my counsel, for it will be for your good: After I am killed, fight the Mughals without hesitation, that you may gain the victory. If you do not do so, the Mughals will attack you, and you will not be

1. Daud found himself in possession of an immense treasure, 40,000 well-mounted cavalry, 140,000 infantry, 20,000 guns of various calibres, 3,600 elephants, and several hundred war-boats—a force which seemed sufficient justification for a contest with Akbar.—Ibid.

able to help yourself. Do not be too sure about the peace with the Mughals, they are only biding their time." But the power of Daud and of all the Afghans was on the wane: it was God's will that they should fall, and that the power of the Emperor should be established over the country of Bengal. So Daud resolved to put Lodi out of the way, and by so doing to establish his authority to his satisfaction. . . So, in the pride and intoxication of youth, he listened to the words of his sinister counsellors. The doomed victim was put to death, and Daud became the master of his elephants, his treasure and his troops. But he was puffed up with conceit and folly, and took no precautions for combating his enemies, and relying upon that unsatisfactory peace which Lodi had concluded, he banished all care.

'When the death of Lodi was reported to Khan-khanan, he at once set his heart upon the conquest of Bengal and Lakhnauti and marched against Patna and Hajipur. . . The Emperor, when he heard of this, determined personally to direct the operations. After resting for a few days at Fathpur, he sent off his camp and elephants by land, under the command of Mirza Yusuf Khan Rizwi, one of his chief *amirs*. He placed Agra in charge of Shahbu-d din Ahmad Khan Naishapuri, and embarked on board a boat on Sunday, the last day of Safar, 982 H. (15th June, 1574). The boats carried all his equipments and establishments, armour, drums, treasure, carpets, kitchen-utensils, stud, etc. Two large boats were specially prepared for his own accommodation, in which he embarked with his attendants. The boats required by the *amirs* for themselves and their establishments were in the rear of the royal boats. . . . . Every day he left the boat and went hunting on shore ('In the evening they cast anchor, and the Emperor engaged in discussions upon science, and poetry, etc.,—Badauni, ii, p. 176). Every day he was joined by fresh parties of troops. . . . . .On the 28th he reached Kori, a dependency of Jaunpur, at the confluence of the Gumti and Ganges, and there anchored. Here he was waited upon by Mirza Yusuf Khan, who had brought down the army by land.

'On the 2nd Rabiu-s sani he reached a village near Jaunpur. Here a despatch arrived from Khan-khanan, urging him to march on with all speed. So on the 3rd he departed on his campaign against Bengal. On the 4th the boats fell down the Gumti to the Ganges, and Mirza Yusuf Khan, the commander of the army, waited on His Majesty. It was now arranged that the army should keep within sight of the royal flotilla....... Khan-khanan and the other *amirs* advanced two *kos* from Patna to meet the Emperor, who on the 16th reached his destination, and took up his residence in the tents of Khan-khanan. Great rejoicings followed, and rich offerings were made. On the 17th Akbar held a council of war.... He thought that the best course to follow was to first reduce the fort of Hajipur (which stood opposite Patna, with the Ganges, about two *kos* in width, flowing between them—*Akbar-Nama*, iii, p. 73.), which rendered very material assistance to the garrison of Patna. The Khans greatly applauded this scheme...... Victory now declared in favour of the Emperor. Fath Khan Barha, commander of Hajipur, and many Afghans were slain, and the place fell into the hands of the Mughals. The head of Fath Khan Barha and the heads of other Afghans were thrown into boats, and sent to Daud, that he might see with his own eyes what had befallen his officers, and might be led to reflect upon his own position. When Daud's eyes fell upon these heads, he was plunged into dismay, and set his mind upon flight.... Sridhar Bengali, who was Daud's great supporter, and to whom he had given the title of Raja Bikramjit, placed his valuables and treasure in a boat and followed him.......

'Late at night, when the flight of Daud was reported, the Emperor gave thanks to heaven, and as soon as it was light, Khan-khanan having assured himself of the fact, the royal forces entered the city with great display. Fifty-six elephants, which the enemy had been unable to carry off, were found in the city and paraded before His Majesty. The date of the fall of Patna, which was indeed the conquest of Bengal, is found in this line, "*Mulk-i Suleiman zi Daud raft*" (983).

Smith here reflects, "The capture of so great a city in the middle of the rainy season was an almost unprecedented achievement and a painful surprise to the Bengal prince. He had reckoned on Akbar following the good old Indian custom of waiting until the Dasara festival in October to begin a campaign. But Akbar resembled his prototype, Alexander of Macedon, in his complete disregard of adverse weather conditions, and so was able to win victories in defiance of the *shastras* and the seasons."[1]

2. Garhi and Tanda Captured.

'The Emperor remained in the city till four hours of the day had passed, and having made a proclamation of amnesty to the inhabitants, he left Khan-khanan in command of the army, while he himself dashed off in pursuit of Gujar Khan (Daud's minister).... When he reached the Punpun (river near Patna), he swam over on horseback, and the *amirs* and soldiers followed his example. Then he gave orders for every man and officer to press on with all his might in the pursuit of the enemy, and he himself spurred forward...... The Emperor stayed at Daryapur six days. He appointed Khan-khanan to the government of Bengal, and left him an additional force of 20,000 horse. He increased his military allowances 25 or 30 per cent., he gave him all the boats which he had brought down from Agra, and invested him with full power and authority. Then he raised the standard of return, and dismissed Khan-khanan and other *amirs*.........

'The Emperor remained at Jaunpur thirty-three days, devoting his time to making arrangements for the army and the government of the country. He placed Jaunpur, Benares, the fort of Chunar, and sundry other *mahals* and *parganas* directly under the royal exchequer, and he gave the management of them to Mirza Mirak Rizwi and Shaikh Ibrahim Sikr.

'When Daud fled from Patna, he went to Garhi. Leaving some trusty men there, he proceeded to the town of Tanda. He made such efforts to strengthen the fort of Garhi that in his vain idea it was impregnable. Khan-khanan marched

1. Ibid., p. 128.

against Tanda, and arrived near Garhi. (He had already made himself master of Surajgarh, Mongir, and Bhagalpur. *Akbar-Nama*, iii, p. 84) As soon as the eyes of the terrified Afghans fell upon his army, they fled and abandoned the fort, so that he obtained possession of Garhi without striking a blow. This intelligence greatly pleased the Emperor, and he sent letters of commendation to Khan-khanan and the other *amirs.* Continuing his journey, and hunting as he went, he arrived, on the 8th Jumada-s sani, at the town of Iskandarpur, where he received the intelligence of the fall of Tanda. After taking possession of the fort of Garhi, the Imperial forces marched on towards Tanda, which is the capital of the kingdom of Bengal, Khan-khanan's explorers at first reported that Daud intended to make a stand there, and had made his dispositions. Khan-khanan thereupon summoned his *amirs*, and took every precaution for the security of his army. Next day he marshalled his forces and advanced upon Tanda. When Daud's spies carried him the intelligence of Khan-khanan's advance, he and his associates thought of the black night of Patna, and fled in dismay, abandoning the town. Thus on the 4th Jumada-s sani, the capital of Tanda was won for the Emperor without fighting, and a proclamation of protection was issued to the people. . . . . The Emperor arrived at Fathpur on the last day of Ramzan (January 18, 1575—after seven months of strenuous travelling and campaigning).

3, Daud's Defeat at Tukaroi.

'After the conquest of Tanda and the flight of Daud, Khan-khanan sent Raja Todar Mal with some other *amirs* towards Orissa, in pursuit of Daud. . . . Raja Todar Mal reached Madaran (in the Hugli District, between Burdwan and Midnapur), was informed by his scouts that Daud was engaged collecting men in Din-kasari, and that his forces were daily increasing.' Todar Mal informed Khan-khanan of this and got reinforcements. 'Upon their arrival all the chiefs concurred in the expediency of marching to Gowalpara, ten *kos* from Din-kasari, with all speed. When Daud heard this, he did not fly, but stood his ground at Dharpur. . . . . Raja Todar Mal halted and

sent swift messengers to inform Khan-khanan of the position of affairs. Khan-khanan then left Tanda to march against Daud, and he formed a junction with Raja Todar Mal. Daud had organized his army and now advanced to meet him. The Afghans entrenched their camp. On the 20th Zi-l kada, 982, the armies met (3rd March, 1575) at Tukaroi, now in the Balasore District (between Midnapur and Jalesar). After the array was formed, the Afghans advanced rapidly and boldly to the attack. Khan-khanan ordered fire to open upon them from the swivels (*zarb-zan*) and light guns (*zanburak*) which were mounted on *arabas* in front of his line. The fire of the guns drove back the elephants which were placed in front of the Afghan attack, and the musketry mowed down the Afghans who were in the advance. . . . . . . An arrow struck Gujar Khan (Daud's general) and brought him down. When the Afghans saw their leader fall, they turned their backs and fled; but many of them were cut down in the flight. Raja Todar Mal and others who were upon the right now charged the left of the enemy. Shaham Khan and others, who were on the left, also attacked their opponents of the right, defeated them, and drove them back upon Daud. His elephants, being worried by the arrows, turned round upon the body of the army, and the stone of dismay was cast among them. . . . . the death of Gujar Khan came to the knowledge of Daud. This shook his resolution, and he turned and fled. Immense booty fell into the hands of the victors, and Khan-khanan encamped victorious on the battle-field. He remained there a few days, and sent a report of the victory to the Emperor. All the prisoners taken were put to the sword.'

Peace with Daud.

Daud fled to Cuttack, in Orissa, but was pursued by Raja Todar Mal and others. 'Daud had suffered several defeats in succession, and Gujar Khan, his mainstay and support, was slain. Death stared him in the face; so, in his despair and misery, he sent a messenger to Khan-khanan with this message: "The striving to crush a party of Musalmans is no noble work. I am ready to submit and become a subject; but I beg that a corner of this wide

country of Bengal, sufficient for my support, may be assigned to me. If this is granted, I will rest content, and never after rebel". The *amirs* communicated this to Khan-khanan, and after considerable discussion, it was determined to accept the proposal, upon the condition that Daud himself should come out to meet Khan-khanan, and confirm the agreement by solemn binding oaths. (The Raja Todar Mal, who well understood the position of affairs, though he wrung his hands and stamped his feet, to prevent the armistice, met with no support. He refused to take any part in the settlement.—*Akbar-Nama*, iii, p. 108).

'Daud protested that he would never take any course hostile to the Imperial throne and he confirmed his promise by the most stringent oaths. The treaty of peace was drawn up, and then Khan-khanan brought a sword with a jewelled belt of great value out of his stores, and presenting it to Daud, said, "You have now become a subject of the Imperial throne, and have promised to give it your support. I have therefore requested that the country of Orissa may be settled upon you for your support, and I feel assured that His Majesty will confirm my proposition—granting this to you. I now gird you afresh with this warlike sword." Then he bound on the sword with his own hands; and showing him every courtesy, and making him a great variety of gifts, he dismissed him. The Court then broke up, and Khan-khanan started on his return. On the 10th Safar, 983, he sent a report of his arrangements to the Emperor, who was greatly delighted and satisfied with the conquest of Bengal. Splendid robes and jewelled swords, and a horse with a golden saddle, were sent to Khan-khanan, and all the arrangements he had made were confirmed.

4. Final Defeat and death of Daud.

'When Khan-khanan, with his mind at ease about Daud, returned to Tanda, the capital of the country, under the influence of his evil destiny, he took a dislike to Tanda, and crossing the Ganges, he founded a home for himself at the fortress of Gaur, which in old times had been the capital of Bengal, and he ordered that all soldiers and *raiyats* should remove from Tanda to Gaur.

'In the height of the rains the people were involved in the trouble of expatriation. The air of Gaur is extremely unhealthy, and in former times, the many diseases which distressed its inhabitants induced the rulers to abandon the place, and raise the town of Tanda. Sickness of many kinds now broke out among the people, and every day numbers of men departed from Gaur to the grave (*az Gaur ba gor*), and bade farewell to relatives and friends. By degrees the pestilence reached such a pitch that men were unable to bury the dead, and cast the corpses into the river. Every day deaths of many *amirs* and officers were reported to Khan-khanan, but he took no warning, and made no resolution to change his residence. He was so great a man that no one had the courage to remove the cotton of heedlessness from his ears, and bring him to a sense of the actual position. His own health became affected, and he grew worse, and at the end of ten days in the month of Safar, 983, he departed this life. His nobles and officers, who had so often met to congratulate him, now assembled to lament him. They placed Shaham Khan in command, and made report of the facts to the Emperor. Khan-khanan had no son, so all his property escheated to the royal exchequer, and an account of it was made out. When the despatch reached His Majesty, he appointed Khan-jahan, who had been supreme governor of the Punjab, to be governor of Bengal. He raised him to the dignity of *amiru-l umara*, commended the *raiyats* and the people to his care, bestowed upon him gifts of embroidered coats, jewelled swords, and a richly caparisoned horse, and dismissed him to his government.

'While the Emperor was encamped at Ajmir, the intelligence was brought to him that Daud Afghan had flung away the treaty which he had made with Khan-khanan, had risen against the royal authority, and had marched against Tanda. The Imperial forces in that quarter, having no chief among them on whom they could rely, had abandoned the country, and retired to Hajipur and Patna. All this commotion had arisen because Khan-jahan had taken time in going there, in consequence of his army being at Lahore. . . . The Khan took the

field, and advanced into Bengal. He had an action with 3000 men whom Daud had left in charge of Garhi, and took the place. Nearly 1500 of the enemy were slain, and many chiefs were made prisoners.'

On July 22nd, 1576, when Akbar was at Fathpur, 'messengers arrived with the intelligence that Khan-jahan, after the capture of Garhi, had advanced to the vicinity of Tanda. There he found that Daud had evacuated Tanda, and had taken up a position in the village of Ak. On one side was a river, on the other a mountain, and he had thrown up entrenchments to secure his position. Khan-jahan marched against him, and sharp fighting followed. One day Khwaja Abdulla, one of the Imperial officers, advanced from his battery to the edge of the Afghan entrenchment. The enemy sallied forth and attacked him, and he fell, fighting bravely. On hearing of his fall the Emperor's anger was roused, and he sent an order to Muzaffar Khan, the governor of Patna and Bihar, to assemble all the troops in his province, and march to the assistance of Khan-jahan. . . . . He sent by *dak-chauki* five *lacs* of rupees towards defraying the expenses of the army. Orders were given for the despatch of boats laden with grain from Agra, for the use of the army. . . . The Emperor himself set off from Fathpur, but at five *kos* distance he made a halt, and issued orders for the assembling of troops, and for the preparation of boats and artillery. Here he was waited upon by Abdulla Khan, whom he had sent as a messenger to Khan-jahan, and who now returned to cast the head of Daud at the foot of the Emperor's throne. Rejoiced at the victory he returned to the capital.'

The *Tarikh-i Daudi* closes with the following observations :— 'Daud Shah Kirani was brought in a prisoner, his horse having fallen with him. Khan-jahan, seeing Daud in this condition, asked him if he called himself a Musalman, and why he had broken the oaths which he had taken on the *Kuran* and before God. Daud answered that he had made the peace with Munim Khan personally; and that if he had now gained the victory, he would have been ready to

renew it. Khan-jahan ordered them to relieve his body from the weight of his head, which he sent to Akbar the King..... *From that period the dominion of Hindustan departed from the tribe of Afghans, and their dynasty was extinguished for ever, in lieu of which arose the star of Akbar Shah's supremacy over the whole country.*' "The independent kingdom of Bengal, which had lasted for about two hundred and thirty-six years (1340-1576)," writes Smith, "perished along with Daud, 'the dissolute scamp, who knew nothing of the business of governing.'"[1]

Rana Pratap's Glorious Resistance: 1572–97.

We have noted already how Akbar's conquest of Rajputana was almost complete but for the flight of Rana Udai Singh of Mewar, who sought refuge in the Aravallis where he founded his new capital of Udaipur. "Four years had Udai Singh survived the loss of Chitore," writes Tod, "when he expired at Gogunda, at the early age of forty-two, yet far too long for his country's honour and welfare."[2] "Pratap succeeded to the titles and renown of an illustrious house, but without a capital, without resources, his kindred and clan dispirited by reverses; yet possessed of the noble spirit of his race, he meditated the recovery of Chitore, the vindication of the honour of his house, and the restoration of its power. Elevated with this design, he hurried into conflict with his powerful antagonist (Akbar), nor stooped to calculate the means which were opposed to him[3].........The wily Mughal arrayed against Pratap his kindred in faith as well as blood. The princes of Marwar, Amber, Bikanir, and even, Bundi, late his firm ally, took part with Akbar and upheld despotism.

1. Ibid., p. 146.

2, Tod, op. cit., i, p. 343.

3. "The empire of Akbar during the last quarter of the 16th century," says Smith, "was the most powerful in the world, and its sovereign was immeasurably the richest monarch on the face of the earth......Even in 1576 the amount of his horded riches must have been stupendous, and none but the bravest of the brave could have dared to match the chivalry of poverty-stricken Mewar against the glittering host of rich Hindustan."– Smith, op. cit, p. 148.

Nay, even his own brother Sagorji, deserted him, and received as the price of his treachery, the ancient capital of his race, and the title which that possession conferred.

"But the magnitude of the peril confirmed the fortitude of Pratap, who vowed, in the words of the bard, 'to make his mother's milk resplendent'; and he amply redeemed his pledge. Single-handed, for a quarter of a century did he withstand the combined efforts of the Empire; at one time carrying destruction into the plains, at another flying from rock to rock, feeding his family from the fruits of his native hills, and raring the nursling here Amar (his son), amidst savage beasts and scarce less savage men, a fit heir to his prowess and revenge. The bare idea that 'the son of Bappa Rawal should bow the head to mortal man', was insupportable; and he spurned every overture which had submission for its basis, or the degradation of uniting his family by marriage with the Tartar, though lord of countless multitudes.

"The brilliant acts he achieved during that period (1572-97) live in every valley; they are enshrined in the heart of every true Rajput, and many are recorded in the annals of the conquerors.[1] To recount them all, or relate the hardships he sustained, would be to pen what they would pronounce a romance who had not traversed the country where tradition is yet eloquent with his exploits, or conversed with the descendants of his chiefs, who cherish a recollection of the deeds of their forefathers, and melt, as they recite them, into manly tears.........To commemorate the desolation of Chitore, which the bardic historian represents as a 'widow despoiled of the ornaments of her loveliness,' Pratap interdicted to himself and his successors every article of luxury and pomp

1. *Cf.* Smith :—"The historians of Akbar, dazzled by the commanding talents and unlimited means which enabled him to gratify his soaring ambition seldom had a word of sympathy to spare for the gallant foes whose misery made his triumph possible. Yet they too, men and women, are worthy of remembrance. *The vanquished, it may be, were greater than the victor.*"-Ibid., p. 254.

until the insignia of her glory should be redeemed[1]......with the aid of some chiefs of judgment and experience, Pratap remodelled his government, adapting it to the exigencies of the times and to his slender resources. New grants were issued, with regulations defining the service required. Kombalmir (or Kumbhalgarh, situated on a mountain, near the western border of Mewar, about 40 miles to the north of Udaipur city), now the seat of government, was strengthened as well as Gogunda and other mountain fortresses; and being unable to keep the field in the plains of Mewar, he followed the system of his ancestors, and commanded his subjects, on pain of death, to retire into the mountains. During the protracted contest, the fertile tracts watered by the Bunas and the Beris, from the Aravalli chain west, to the eastern table-land, was '*be chiragh*', without a lamp............"

Battle of Haldighat or Gogunda.

Nizamu-d din, whose account we have mostly followed for other events of Akbar's reign, gives only a very brief description of this glorious fight for independence: 'Rana Kika (as he calls Rana Pratap) was chief among the Rajas of Hindustan. After the conquest of Chitore, he built a town called Kokanda (Gogunda), with fine houses and gardens, in the mountains of Hinduwara. There he passed his days in rebellion. When Kunwar Man Singh drew near to Kokanda, Rana Kika called all the Rajas of Hindustan to his aid, and came out of Ghati Haldeo (Haldighat) with a strong force to oppose his assailant. Kunwar Man Singh, in agreement with his *amirs*, put his troops in array and marched to the battle-field.

1. "The gold and silver dishes were laid aside for *patras* or leaves, their beds henceforth of straw, and their beards left untouched. But in order distinctly to mark their fallen fortune and stimulate to its recovery, he commanded that the martial *nakaras*, which always sounded in the van of battle or processions, should follow in the rear. This last sign of the depression of Mewar still survives; the beard is yet untouched by the shears; and even in the subterfuge by which the patriot king's behest is set aside, we have a tribute to his memory: for though his descendant eats off gold and silver and sleeps upon a bed, he places the leaves beneath the one and straw under the other."—Tod, op. cit., i, p. 347.

Some desperate charges were made on both sides, and the battle waged for a watch with great slaughter. The Rajputs in both armies fought fiercely in emulation of each other.[1] Nearly 150 horsemen of the royal army were killed, and more than 500 Rajputs of the enemy's army were sent to perdition. The enemy lost Rameshwar Gwaliari and his son, and the son of Jai Mal. On that day Rana Kika fought obstinately till he received wounds from an arrow and from a spear; he then turned to save his life, and left the field of battle. The Imperial forces pursued the Rajputs, and killed numbers of them. Kunwar Man Singh wrote an account of the victory to the Emperor. Next day he went through the pass of Haldeo, and entered Kokanda. He took up his abode in the house of Rana Kika, and again returned thanks to the Almighty. Rana Kika fled into the hills for refuge. The Emperor rewarded Kunwar Man Singh and his *amirs* with robes and horses'.[2]

"On the 7th of Sawun, S. 1632 (July, 1576 A. D.), a day ever memorable in her annals, the best blood of Mewar irrigated the pass of Haldighat." Pratap retired to the remote fastness of Chaund, and his strong fortresses fell one by one into the enemy's hands. "But later he recovered all Mewar, excepting Chitor, Ajmir, and Mandalgarh. During the latter years of his life he was left in peace, owing to the inability of Akbar to continue an active campaign in Rajputana, while necessity compelled him to reside for thirteen

1. The historian Badauni had enthusiatically joined this campaign, because, as he put it, "I have a presumption to desire to dye these black mustachios and beard in blood through loyalty to your Majesty's person". He said to Asaf Khan, the chief under whom he fought, "How are we in these circumstances, since there are Rajputs on either side, to distinguish between friendly and hostile Rajputs?" He answered, "Oh whichever side these may be killed, it will be a gain to Islam". He records with great satisfaction: "My hand prospered in the matter, and I attained the reward due to one who fights against infidels...;" and that day through the generalship of Man Singh, the meaning of this line of Mulla Shir became known:—"*A Hindu strikes, but the sword is Islam's.*"

2. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 398-99.

years in the Punjab. In 1597 Pratap died, worn out in body and mind. His chiefs pledged themselves to see that his son Amar Singh should not forget his duty." [1]

"The last moments of Pratap," writes Tod, "were an appropriate commentary on his life, which he terminated, like the Carthagenian, swearing his successor to eternal conflict against the foes of his country's independence......*Thus closed the life of a Rajput whose memory is even now idolized by every Sisodia, and will continue to be so, till renewed oppression shall extinguish the remaining sparks of patriotic feeling. May that day never arrive! yet if such be her destiny, may it, at least, not be hastened by the arms of Britain.*" He also adds, "There is not a pass in the alpine Aravali that is not sanctified by some deed of Pratap,—some brilliant victory, or oftener, more glorious defeat. Haldighat is the Thermopylae of Mewar; the field of Deweir her Marathon."[2]

The end of the struggle with the Rajputs is thus briefly described by Dr. Ishwari Prasad: "Rana Pratap was succeeded by his son Amar Singh in 1597. He reorganised the institutions of the state, made a fresh assessment of the lands, and regulated the conditions of military service. The Mughals took the offensive again, and in 1599 Akbar sent Prince Salim and Raja Man Singh to invade Mewar. The Prince frittered away his time in the pursuit of pleasure at Ajmer, but the valiant Raja aided by other officers did a great deal. Amar led the attack, but he was defeated, and his country was devastated by the imperialists. The campaign came to an end abruptly, when Raja Man Singh was called away by the Emperor in order to quell the revolt of Usman Khan in Bengal. Akbar contemplated another invasion of Mewar, but his illness prevented him from putting his plan into execution."[3]

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 153.
2. Tod, op. cit., i, pp. 345-63.
3. *A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 380.

The Crisis of 1581.

"The year 1581," observes Smith, "may be regarded as the most critical time in the reign of Akbar, if his early struggles to consolidate his power be not taken into account."[1] When the year began he was undisputed master of all the fortresses in northern India, and had extended his dominion east and west from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, and southwards as far as the Tapti river. But he was faced with rebellions on all sides, which had arisen from complex causes. In addition to the unquenchable discontent among the Afghans whose power he had supplanted, Akbar's religious and other reforms, which we shall notice later, had created a great ferment among the more conservative sections of his subjects. At the same time, Akbar's restless brother, Muhammad Hakim, was ever watchful for an opportunity to fish in troubled waters. At this time rebellions arose, almost simultaneously, in Bengal, Bihar, Gujarat, and in the north-west. We shall notice these one by one.

Bengal and Bihar.

We have noted already that, after the death of Munim Khan, Khan-jahan was appointed governor of Bengal. He too died in December 1578, and was succeeded by Muzaffar Khan Turbati, in March 1579. Nizamu-d din records, 'Muzaffar Khan, on arriving in Bengal, set about arranging the affairs of that province. But his prosperity was on the wane, and his day was gone by. He was harsh in his measures, he offended men with his words, he deprived many *amirs* of their *jagirs*, he demanded the *dagh* (brand-tax), and brought old practices up again.

'Baba Khan Kakshal, although he was conciliatory, and begged that his *jagir* might be left undisturbed, was called upon for the *dagh*, and received no attention. The *pargana* of Jalesar, which was the *jagir* of Khaldi Khan, was taken away from him at the beginning of the spring harvest, and was added as *tankhwah* to the *jagir* of Shah Jamalu-d din Husain. A sum of money due from the spring harvest had

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 190.

been received by Khaldi Khan, and to recover this Muzaffar Khan put him in prison, and ordered him to be scourged and bastinadoed.

'At this time a *farman* arrived from the Imperial Court, directing Muzaffar Khan to apprehend and put to death a servant of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, named Roshan Beg, who had left Kabul and gone into Bengal, and to send his head to Court. This Roshan Beg was among the Kakshals, and Muzaffar Khan issued an order for his execution. He also spake some harsh words about Baba Khan Kakshal. The soldiers who were present, and especially Baba Khan and the Kakshals, trembled together and resolved upon mutiny. They shaved their heads, put on their high caps, and broke out into revolt. Crossing the river, they went to the city of Gaur, celebrated in old times under the name of Lakhnauti. There they collected men, and having found property of Muzaffar Khan in several places, they took it or destroyed it. Muzaffer Khan collected boats, and sent Hakim Abu-l Fath and Patar Das (the former a drunkard, and the latter a Hindu clerk), with an army against them on the banks of the river.

'When the disaffection of the Kakshals was reported to the Emperor, he sent a *farman* to Muzaffar Khan, in which he said that the Kakshals had long been servants of the throne, and it was not right to hurt them; and they were therefore to be conciliated and encouraged with hopes of the Emperor's favour, and the matter of their *jagirs* was to be settled. The *farman* arrived at the time when Muzaffar Khan was in face of the insurgents.

'Upon the arrival of the *farman*, Baba Khan and the other rebels made a show of submission, and sent a message to Muzaffar Khan, asking him to send Rizwi Khan and Patar Das to arrange terms with them . . . . . But, when they arrived, Baba Khan put them in confinement, and so stirred the fire of warfare.

'Coincident with this, it so happened that Mulla Tayib, Purshottam *Bakshi*, and the revenue officials of Bihar, also entered upon harsh dealings. They took away the *jagirs* of

Muhammad Masum Kabuli, Arab Bahadur, and all the *amirs*, and so laid the foundation of an evil system. Masum Kabuli and the others resolved to rebel, and kill Mulla Tayib and Rai Purshottam. Having put them to flight, they plundered their dwellings. After a few days, Purshottam rallied some loyal subjects, and crossed the river Jausa with the intention of attacking the rebels. But the rebel Arab Bahadur anticipated him, took him unawares, and killed him.

'Upon the intelligence of Masum's rebellion reaching Baba Khan, a correspondence was opened between them, and when the Kakshals confronted Muzaffar Khan, Masum marched to assist them, and arrived at Garhi .... and the revolt gathered strength. The Kakshals then crossed the river, and advanced against Muzaffar Khan .... Muzaffar Khan then took shelter in the fort of Tanda, which was nothing better than four walls. The rebels occupied the town of Tanda. They took Hakim Abul Fath, Khwaja Shamsu-d din and others prisoners, and began to pillage ...... The rebels made themselves masters of the fort of Tanda, brought Muzaffar Khan out of his house upon a solemn assurance of safety and put him to death. They took possession of his property and effects, and all the country of Bengal and Bihar fell into their hands. Nearly 30,000 horsemen assembled round the rebels. The Emperor some time before this had taken Mirza Sharafu-d din Husain out of prison, and sent him to Bengal to Muzaffar Khan (to be kept in custody). The rebels now released him from confinement, and placed him at their head. So the revolt increased.

'Upon the facts being communicated to the Emperor, he sent Raja Todar Mal ... and other *amirs* to repress it. *Farmans* were sent to Muhammad Masum Farankhudi, governor of Jaunpur, and ... the *jagirdars* of that country, directing them to place themselves under the command of Todar Mal, and render every assistance to quash the rebellion.

'But Muhammad Masum was a weak-minded man, his dignity and the strength of his arm had turned his brain, and he began to show many little actions savouring of disaffection,

and to utter expressions indicative of disloyalty. Raja Todar Mal, like a prudent and experienced man, temporised with him, and did all he could to reassure and conciliate him.

'When the Imperial army reached Mongir, the Khakshals, and Mirza Sharafu-d din Husain with 30,000 horse, and 500 elephants, and with war-boats and artillery, in battle array, advanced to meet the Imperial army. Raja Todar Mal had no confidence in the cohesion of the adventures composing the enemy's army, and deeming it inexpedient to fight, he occupied the fort of Mongir, and throwing up other fortifications around it, he kept that position. Every day combats occurred between the men of the outposts. When these proceedings were reported to the Emperor, he sent a large sum of money for the expenditure of the army .... For four months the royal forces and the insurgents faced each other, but at length some loyal *zamindars* of the vicinity cut off the supplies from the insurgents, and great scarcity prevailed among them. Baba Khan Kakshal fell sick and died ...... Masum, not being able to maintain his ground, withdrew to Bihar. Arab Bahadur made rapid march to Patna, seized upon the city, and appropriated the treasure, but he was soon put to flight .... Todar Mal and the other *amirs* marched to Bihar, ... and the Emperor's good fortune aided them, and Masum ran away to Bengal in sorry flight. Now Garhi fell into the hands of the royal troops.' After this, though fighting continued for a considerable length of time in the eastern provinces, the back of the rebellion was broken, and Bengal and Bihar were restored to Imperial allegiance.

Akbar appointed his foster-brother, Mirza Aziz Kokah, governor of Bengal, under the title of *Khan-i azam*, and entrusted him with the task of further pacifying the eastern provinces. In order to conciliate the rebels, Shah Mansur, the Diwan or Finance Minister, who had been responsible for drastic measures (like cutting down the allowances of soldiers by 50 and 20 per cent.) was temporarily removed from office. "Mulla Muhammad Yazdi, the Kazi of Jaunpur, who had dared to give the ruling, that rebellion (against an innovating

ruler) was lawful, was sent for, along with his colleague, the Kazi of Bengal. Their boat 'foundered' in the river, and sundry other Mullas suspected of disaffection were 'sent to the closet of annihilation', by one way or another (Badauni, ii, p. 285.) .... Akbar exhibited his usual politic clemency in favour of several of the prominent rebel leaders, who sometimes abused his leniency and renewed their disloyal conduct."[1]

2. Mirza Hakim's Rebellion.

Akbar did not personally undertake the subjugation of the eastern rebels, because there was a more serious danger threatening from the north-west. His brother, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, was once more preparing for an invasion in collusion with the Bengal insurgents. "A successful invasion from Kabul," as Smith points out, "resulting in the occupation of Delhi and Agra, with its enormous store of treasure, would have meant the destruction of the empire which Akbar had built up with so much labour and skill. But if that invasion should fail, the rising in the east might be safely regarded as a mere provincial trouble to be adjusted sooner or later by the imperial officers. Events proved the soundness of Akbar's judgment. The invasion from the north-west was repelled, and the eastern insurrections were suppressed in due course."[2]

Nizamu-d din's account of this north-western campaign is as follows:—

'In the beginning of this year (989 H. or 1581 A. D.) intelligence arrived that Mirza Muhammad Hakim, allured by the inducements held out in letters sent to him by Masum Kabuli and Masum Farankhudi, and urged on by his maternal uncle Faridun, had set out from Kabul with the object of conquering Hindustan. He sent his servant Shadman over the Indus (in advance), but Kunwar Man Singh, son of Raja Bhagwan Das, attacked him and killed him. On hearing of this, the Mirza crossed the river, and encamped in the *pargana* of Saiyidpur. The Emperor assembled his forces, and having

1. Ibid., pp. 187-88.
2. Ibid., pp. 186-87,

advanced to all the soldiers eight months' pay out of the treasury, he marched towards the Punjab. . . . .

'When Kunwar Man Singh defeated Shadman, he obtained from Shadman's portfolio three letters from Mirza Muhammad Hakim, one to Hakimu-l Mulk, one to Khwaja Shah Mansur (Akbar's trusted *Diwan*) and one to Muhammad Kasim Khan *Mir-bahr*; all in answer to letters of invitation and encouragement. Kunwar Man Singh sent these letters to the Emperor, who ascertained the contents, but kept the fact concealed.

'After the Emperor marched from Delhi, Mirza Muhammad Hakim advanced to Lahore, and encamped in the garden of Mahdi Kasim Khan. Kunwar Man Singh, Said Khan, and Raja Bhagwan Das had gone into the fortress. On the Emperor's reaching Panipat, Malik Sani Kabul, *diwan* of Mirza Hakim, deserted the Mirza and came to the Imperial camp. He alighted at the tent of Khwaja Shah Mansur. . . . . The Emperor was already suspicious of Mansur, and his doubts were now confirmed. So he dismissed Mansur, and showed him the Mirza's letter. Mansur asseverated (his innocence), but it was of no use.

'The Emperor proceeded to Shahbad, and there he came into possession of other incriminating letters. . . . . On hearing and considering these letters, it appeared to His Majesty that Sharaf Beg had written one of them to Khwaja Mansur, and that the other was certainly connected with the coming of Mirza Hakim's *diwan* Malik Sani, to Khwaja Mansur. Many of the *amirs* and officers of State were on bad terms with the Khwaja, and these exerted their influence to secure his death. So the Emperor gave the order for his execution, and he was hanged next morning.

'Three days afterwards intelligence came in that Mirza Muhammad Hakim, having been informed of the Emperor's march towards the Punjab, had passed the river of Lahore, and gone to Kabul. The Emperor advanced from Sirhind to Kalanor, and from thence to New Rohtas. There he received good news, and hunting as he went along, he reached the

Indus . . . He ordered a fort to be built on the banks of the Indus, which is called Sindsagar, and he called it Attak Banaras. Boats were scarce; so he ordered the *amirs* to produce some. He assigned their respective posts to the *amirs*. Kunwar Man Singh . . . and others were sent over the river towards Peshawar. When they took possession of that city, the Emperor sent Prince Murad along with others to effect the conquest of Kabul.

'At this time envoys from Mirza Hakim came to beg pardon for his offences. The Emperor sent Haji Habibu-lla along with them to Kabul, promising him forgiveness, on condition that he repented of the past, would bind himself by oath (for the future), and would send his sister to the Imperial Court . . . . But when Prince Murad came to within seven *kos* of Kabul, Mirza Hakim issued forth and attacked him; but he was defeated and put to flight. The victorious Prince then entered Kabul . . . . On Friday, 10th Rajab (9th August, 1581), the Emperor himself entered his grandfather's capital, and remained there for twenty days visiting the gardens . . . . The Mirza (Muhammad Hakim) having made a promise and a vow of fidelity, and executed an engagement, . . . His Majesty then turned towards Hindustan, after conferring Kabul upon Mirza Muhammad Hakim.[1] . . . . He arrived at Lahore on the last day of Ramzan.

'He again entrusted the government of the Punjab to Said Khan, Raja Bhagwan Das, and Kunwar Man Singh, and went on his way hunting to Fathpur . . . . On the 25th Shawwal he arrived at Delhi (1st December, 1581).

'When the Emperor had been engaged in the Kabul campaign, Bahadur Ali, son of Saiyid Badakshi, entered the

1. Smith writes, "The Muhammadan historians represent Akbar as having restored the government of the Kabul province to his brother directly. But the Mirza had never come in to make personal submission to Akbar, and there can be no doubt that Father Monserrate is correct in stating that the Emperor made over Kabul to his sister, . . . when she came to see him . . . She seems to have tacitly allowed the Mirza to resume the government." (*Akbar*, p. 200.)

country of Tirhut, and gave himself the title of Bahadur Shah (and according to Badauni, caused the *khutba* to be read and coins to be struck in his name); but he was taken prisoner and killed by the men of Khan-i azam. Masum Khan Farankhudi (who had fled to the Siwaliks) being in distress, begged pardon for his offences, through Khan-i azam, and in consequence of the Khan's intercession he was pardoned.

" The success of the Kabul expedition," observes Smith, " gave him (Akbar) an absolutely free hand for the rest of his life, and may be regarded as the climax of his career."[1]

3. The Gujarat Rebellion.

Nizamu-d din's account of the rebellion in Gujarat is too long to be reproduced here. Besides, little interest attaches to the narrative, except in the fact that the author himself took part in the campaign of suppression. The following brief account of it by Smith sets out the salient features in a nut-shell :—

" During the progress of the wars in Bengal and the expedition to Kabul, the province of Gujarat was much disturbed by the revolt of Muzaffar Shah, ex-King of that country. He had escaped from surveillance in 1578, and taken refuge at Junagarh in Kathiawar until 1583, when he collected and started a formidable rebellion, which lasted for about eight years. When Itimed Khan was appointed viceroy in 1583 he was lucky enough to be assisted by Nizamu-d din Ahmad, the historian, in the capacity of *bakshi*, who proved himself to be a most energetic and efficient officer. In September 1583, Muzaffar took Ahmadabad, and assumed the title and state of King. In November, he treacherously killed Kutbu-d din, the distinguished imperial officer who had surrendered to him, and he occupied Bharoch. The alarming news from the west obliged Akbar to return from Allahabad to the capital in January 1585. He had meantime appointed Mirza Khan (Abdurrahim, Bairam Khan's son), better known by his later title of *Khan-khanan*, to the government of Gujarat. The pretender was severely defeated by much inferior imperial forces at the battle of Sarkhej near Ahmadabad in

1. Ibid., p. 202.

January 1584, and again at Nadot or Nandod in Rajpipla. After many vicissitudes he was driven into Cutch (Kacch), where he received support from certain local chiefs. Nizam-ud din inflicted a terrible punishment on their territory by destroying nearly 300 villages[1] and ravaging two *parganas*. He was then recalled.

"Muzaffar continued to give trouble in the wild regions of Kathiawar and Cutch until 1591-92, when he was captured. He committed suicide by cutting his throat, or any rate was reported to have done so. Abdurrahim got his title of *Khan-khanan* for his defeat of Muzaffar."[2]

(m) Settlement of the Frontiers :

Akbar, having successfully passed through the crisis above described, undertook campaigns which were more or less of an aggressive character, intended mostly to round off his territories by a settlement of its frontiers. The annexation of Kabul, Kashmir, Kandahar, Sindh, and Orissa, and the subjugation of the Balochi and Yusufzai, as well as the campaigns against the Uzbeks in Badakhshan, are all illustrative of this. Having once secured these, he led his last aggressive campaigns for the conquest of the southern kingdoms of the Deccan.

1. Annexation of Kabul.

The death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim gave the occasion for the incorporation of Kabul with Akbar's dominions. 'The Mirza,' says Nizamu-d din, 'was the Emperor's own brother, but the

1. 'We burnt and destroyed the towns of Kari and Kataria, two places well known in Cutch. We realised an enormous booty, and after plundering and destroying nearly 300 villages in the course of three days, we recrossed the Rann . . . . After crossing we ravaged and destroyed the *parganas* of Malia and Morbi which belonged to Khangar . . . . . . After returning to Ahmadabad, I turned my thoughts to the repression of the Grassias. In the course of two months I fitted out an army, and then marched towards Othaniya and Ahmadnagar. I attacked and laid waste nearly fifty villages of the Kolis and Grassias, and I built forts in seven different places to keep these people in check . . . . . In the year 996 the Emperor gave Gujarat to Azam Khan, and recalled me to Court. By rapid stages I reached the Imperial Court at Lahore in fourteen days, and was most graciously received.' (*Nizamu-d din*, E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 445-7.)

2. Smith, op. cit., p. 208.

Emperor had shown him kindness and affection greater than even that of a brother. For the Mirza had often been presumptuous and aggressive, and the Emperor had not only pardoned him and showed him favour, but had sent *amirs* and armies to maintain him in Kabul. He was greatly addicted to wine, and excessive drinking was the cause of his illness and death. He died on the 12th Shaban, 993 (July, 1585). When the news of his death reached the Emperor, he was much grieved; and after the period of mourning was over, his purpose was to confirm the country of Kabul to the sons of the Mirza. But the nobles urged that the Mirza's sons were of tender age, and incapable of ruling; and that the Uzbek army which had already taken Badakhshan was on the look out for Kabul also. These considerations induced the Emperor to march to the Punjab, and he began his march on the 10th of Ramzan.....

'The Emperor travelled by successive stages without making any halts to Delhi. There he visited the tomb of his father and the shrines of the saints, and dispensed his charity upon the poor, and celebrated the *Id*. On the 19th Shawwal he reached the bank of the Sutlej and encamped. There he was informed that Kunwar Man Singh had sent a body of men across the Indus to Peshawar, and that Shah Beg, the officer of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, had fled to Kabul. ...... On the 28th he (Akbar) reached and crossed the Beyah. Here he received a despatch from Man Singh, reporting that the people of Kabul had willingly submitted to the Imperial rule.... Moreover, Faridun Khan, the uncle of the late Mirza, when Kunwar Man Singh entered Kabul in hot haste, finding that he was helpless, brought the young princes to wait upon the Kunwar. They were received with great kindness and assurances of protection. Man Singh left his own sons in Kabul in the charge of Shamsu-d din Khafi, and set off with the young princes and the nobles of Kabul to meet the Emperor.... They were received with princely generosity (at Rawalpindi). Each of the chief attendants received five or six thousand rupees as a gift. Suitable

allowances and *jagirs* were also granted...... His Majesty placed Kunwar Man Singh in command, and gave him Kabul in *jagir*.

Reduction of the Afghans, etc.

'When the Emperor reached Atak, he sent Bhagwan Das, Shah Kuli Mahram, and other well known *amirs*, with about 5,000 horse, to effect the conquest of Kashmir. On the same day Ismail Kuli Khan and Rai Singh were sent against the Baluchis. Next day Zain Khan Koka was sent with a force against the Afghans of Swat and Bajaur, to reduce that turbulent people to order. The Emperor encamped at Atak on the 15th Muharram, 994.

'In former times a Hindustani soldier had come among the Afghans, and set up an heretical sect. He induced many foolish people to become his disciples, and he gave himself the title of *Pir Roshanai*. He was dead, but his son Jalala, a youth of about fourteen, came in the year 989 H., to wait upon the Emperor, as he was returning from Kabul. He was kindly received; but after a few days his evil disposition induced him to take flight, and go off to the Afghans. There he raised disturbances; and gathering a good number of men under him, he shut up the roads between Hindustan and Kabul. In order to repress this base sect of *Roshanais*, His Majesty placed Kunwar Man Singh in command and gave him Kabul in *jagir*.

'When intelligence arrived of Zain Khan having entered the country of Swat, and of his having encountered this sect of Afghans, who were as numerous as ants and locusts, on the 2nd Safar, 994 H., Sayid Khan Gakhar, Raja Birbal and others were sent with forces to support him. A few days later Hakim Abu-l Fath was sent after them with additional forces. After these reinforcements had joined, Zain Khan began to plunder and ravage the Afghans, and great spoil fell into his hands. When they reached the pass of Karagar, a person observed to Raja Birbal that the Afghans meditated a night attack on that night, that the extent of the mountain and of the pass was only three or four *kos*, and that if they got through the pass they would be safe from the attack de-

signed. Raja Birbal, without making any communication to Zain Khan, pushed on to get through the pass, and all his army followed. At close of day, when the sun was about to set, they reached a defile, the heights of which on every side were covered with Afghans. Arrows and stones were showered upon them in the narrow pass, and in the darkness men lost their path, and perished in the recesses of the mountain. A terrible defeat and slaughter followed. Nearly 8,000 men were killed, and Raja Birbal, who fled for his life was slain... On the 5th Rabi'u-l awwal, Zain Khan Koka and Hakim Abu-l Fath were defeated and reached the fort of Atak with difficulty.

'This defeat greatly troubled the Emperor.[1] He dismissed these commanders, and sent Raja Todar Mal with a large army to repair the disaster. The Raja entered the mountain region with great caution. Here and there he built forts, and harried and plundered continually, so that he reduced the Afghans to great straits. Raja Man Singh, who had marched against these sectaries, fought a hard battle with them in the Khaibar Pass, in which many of them were slain and made prisoners. The Raja obtained a great victory (1586).

Conquest of Kashmir.

'When Raja Bhagwan Das, Shah Kuli Khan Mahram, and others who had been sent against Kashmir, reached the pass of Bhuliyas, on the confines of Kashmir, Yusuf Khan, the ruler of that country, came up and blockaded the pass. The Imperial forces remained for some days inactive, snow and rain came on, and supplies of corn were cut off. Moreover, the news of the defeat of Zain arrived, and the army was in great difficulty. The *amirs* resolved to make peace. They settled a tribute to be paid by saffron, shawls, and by the mint, to the royal treasury, and they appointed collectors. (They gave the country entirely over to Yusuf—Badauni, ii, p. 352.) Yusuf was delighted with these terms, and came to visit the *amirs*, and they brought him along with them to visit the Emperor.

1. Akbar in particular grieved very much over the death of his jovial companion, Raja Birbal, and is said to have been so much moved that he gave up food and drink for two days. Badauni says: 'He never experienced such grief at the death of any *amir* as he did at that of Birbal.'

When they came to Court, the Emperor disapproved of the peace, and the *amirs* were forbidden his presence, but after some days they were allowed to make their obeisances......'

Then 'Muhammad Kasim Khan *Mir-bahr*...was sent with a large force to effect the conquest of Kashmir. After seven marches they entered the defiles of the mountains. When they reached the pass of Kartal, Yakub, the son of Yusuf Khan, (who 'had been thrown into prison, and was treated as dead by his son'-Badauni, ii, p. 353) considering himself ruler of Kashmir, came with a considerable force to oppose them. But fortune fought for the Imperial army, and the stone of dissension was cast among the Kashmiris. The chiefs of Kashmir were distressed with the rule of Yakub, and several deserted from him and joined Kasim Khan. Another party raised the standard of rebellion in Srinagar, which is the capital of the country. Yakub deeming it of primary importance to crush the internal rebellion, returned to Kashmir. The Imperial army then entered Kashmir without opposition, and Yakub, unable to make any resistance, fled to the mountains. Srinagar was occupied, and revenue collectors were appointed to all the *parganas*.

'The Emperor, being informed of the contest, sent letters of thanks to Kasim Khan and the other *amirs*, and bestowed honours and promotions upon all of them. Yakub raised a force and fought with Kasim, but was defeated. Another time he tried a night surprise, but was unsuccessful. The royal forces pursued him into hills full of trees and defiles beating him and driving him before them. He was very nearly captured. At last in wretched plight and in humble mood, he waited upon Kasim Khan, and enrolled himself among the subjects of the Imperial throne.' Badauni adds that he was eventually sent into Bihar to Raja Man Singh, to join his father; and both Yusuf and Yakub there died in confinement, worn out with troubles and chagrin.[1]

1. Badauni, ii, p. 353; Abu-l Fazl, on the other hand says, 'Yusuf was released from prison, and received a *jagir*, so that he might learn better manners, and appreciate the kind treatment he had received.' (*Akbar-Nama*, iii, p. 549.)

The Emperor after this paid a visit to Kashmir and Kabul and attended to the transfer of several of the important officers. 'The government of Kabul was given to Zain Khan Koka, and Raja Man Singh was recalled to Court and the government of Bihar and Bengal was conferred upon him. About the same time the government of Kashmir was given to Mirza Yusuf Khan Rizwi, and Kasim Khan *Mir-bahr* was recalled. Sadik Khan was sent to Swat and Bajaur against the Yusufzais, and the *jagirs* of Man Singh at Sialkot and elsewhere were granted to him. Ismail Kuli Khan was recalled from Swat and Bajaur, and sent to Gujarat, to replace Kalij Khan, who was summoned to Court . . . Kalij Khan arrived from Gujarat, and was appointed to assist Raja Todar Mal in Revenue and Civil administration.'

When the Emperor was at Kabul, 'intelligence reached him that Raja Todar Mal *wakilu-s saltanat*, and *mushrif-i diwan*, and Raja Bhagwan Das *amiru-l umara*, had died at Lahore. On the 8th Muharram, 998, the Emperor started on his return to Hindustan, leaving the government of Kabul in the hands of Muhammad Kasim *Mir-bahr* . . . . . He gave the government of Gujarat to Mirza Aziz Muhammad Kokaltash *Azam Khan*, who held the government of Malwa. He recalled me, Nizamu-d din Ahmad, the author of this work, to Court. To Khan-khanan he gave Jaunpur instead of the *jagir* which he had held in Gujarat.

Sindh and the Balochis.

'The city of Lahore had been for some years the royal residence, and many chiefs of that quarter had come to wait upon the Emperor. But Jani Beg, of Tatta, although he had sent letters and tribute, had never come in person to enroll himself among the supporters of the Imperial throne. Khan-khanan was now appointed governor of Multan and Bhakkar, and he was commanded to effect the conquest of Sindh and the Balochis. In the month of Rabi'u-s sani (1590) he was sent on his enterprise, along with a number of nobles whose names are too numerous to mention. He had a hundred elephants and a train of artillery. . . . .

'Khan-khanan had besieged Jani Beg for two months. Every day there was fighting, and loss on both sides. The Sindhis had got possession of the roads, and prevented the passage of provisions. Grain had consequently become very scarce and bread exceedingly dear. Khan-khanan had no resource but to move away, so he set off towards the *pargana* of Jun, near Tatta. But he sent a portion of his force to invest Sihwan. Jani Beg, assuming Sihwan force to be weak in numbers, marched against it . . . But confident in the Imperial good fortune, they went into battle. The Raja Todar Mal's son, Dharu, fought most bravely, and was killed. The wind of victory blew upon the royal standards, and Jani Beg flew towards the banks of the river, and again entrenched himself. Khan-khanan upon his side, and the Sihwan force upon the other, bore down upon him and besieged him. There was fighting every day. At length Jani Beg's men were reduced to eat their horses and camels, and many were killed every day by the fire of the guns and muskets. Jani Beg was compelled to make an offer of capitulation, and promise to go and wait upon the Emperor. He begged for the period of three months to make preparations for his journey, and this was conceded. It being the rainy season, Khan-khanan remained in the village of Sann, in the vicinity of Sihwan, for that time. The fort of Sihwan was surrendered, and Jani Beg gave his daughter in marriage to Mirza Iraj, son of Khan-khanan. He also surrendered twenty *ghrabs*, (three-masted ships).

'The intelligence of this victory gave the Emperor great joy, as he deemed it a good augury of his success in Kashmir. He then continued his journey to Kashmir, ... taking me with him in attendance . . . . . It is a curious fact that when the Emperor started on his return from Kashmir, he observed: "It is forty years since I saw snow, and there are many men with me, born and bred in Hind, who have never seen it. If a snow-storm should come upon us, it would be a kind dispensation of Providence." It occurred just as His Majesty expressed his wish. On the 1st Rabi'u-l awwal he reached the

fort of Rohtas, and there rested. On the 13th he started for Lahore, and on the 6th Rabi'u-s sani he arrived there (1592).

Annexation of Orissa.

'Intelligence here reached him that Raja Man Singh had fought a great battle with the sons of Kutlu Afghan, who, since his death, had held the country of Orissa, and, having defeated them, he had annexed that extensive country, which lies beyond Bengal, to the Imperial dominions." The new province was attached to the *Suba* of Bengal, and continued to be part of the Empire until 1751, when the Marathas conquered it from Alivardi Khan.

Balochistan and Kandahar.

"The year 1595 saw the completion of the conquests and annexations in the north-west effected by the arms of Akbar's officers or through diplomacy based on the terror of his name. In February of that year Mir Masum, the historian, who wielded the sword and the pen with equal facility, attacked the fort of Siwi to the south-east of Quetta which was held by the Parni Afghans. The tribesmen who mustered in force to defend their stronghold, were defeated in battle, and after consideration surrendered the place, with the result that all Balochistan, as far as the frontiers of the Kandahar province, and including Makran, the region near the coast, passed under the imperial sceptre.

"A little later, in April, Kandahar itself came into Akbar's possession without bloodshed....... The Persian governor, Muzaffar Husain Mirza, being involved in quarrels with relatives and in danger from the Uzbegs, asked Akbar to depute an officer to take over charge. The Emperor, of course, complied gladly, and sent Shah Beg, who had been in the service of his brother at Kabul. The city, thus peacefully acquired, remained under the Indian government until 1622, when Jahangir lost it. Shahjahan regained it and held it from 1638 to 1649, when it was finally separated from the empire."[1]

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 258.

7. Badakhshan and the Uzbegs.

Akbar was ambitious to reconquer his ancestral dominions in Trans-Oxiana. When he marched to Kabul, he was 'intent upon effecting the conquest of Badakhshan.' Later, 'Mirza Suleiman, with the assistance of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, had returned to Badakhshan, and obtained a victory over the army of Abdu-lla Khan Uzbeg..... Abdulla Khan of Badakhshan, when he was informed of Mirza Suleiman's success, gathered a strong force, which he sent to oppose him. Mirza Suleiman unable to cope with this army, retreated to Kabul, all Badakhshan came into the power of the Uzbegs.' Akbar then tried to conciliate Abdu-lla Khan with diplomacy. Nearly a *lac* and a half of rupees, equal to 37,000 *tumans* of Irak, goods of Hindustan, and curiosities were entrusted to Muhammad Ali *Khazanchi* for presentation to Abdu-lla Khan.' But all this was of little avail. On the contrary, Akbar was in constant anxiety about the activities of the rebel Uzbeg leaders, until the death, in 1598, of Abdu-lla Khan, when, relieved of all danger from that direction, he turned definitely towards the south.

(n) Conquest of the Deccan:

In August 1591, Akbar had sent diplomatic missions to the various kingdoms of the Deccan: 'Faizi, the brother of the learned Sheikh Abu-l Fazl, to Asir and Burhanpur; Kwaja Aminu-d din to Ahmadnagar; Mir Muhammad Amin Mashudi to Bijapur; and Mirza Masud to Golkonda.' But in 1593, 'the ambassadors, whom the King had despatched to the Deccan, returned, communicating that all the kings had refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Akbar, who accordingly determined to reduce them to subjection.'[1] Only Raja Ali Khan, the ruler of Khandesh, who was 'a man of great talent, just, wise, prudent, and brave,' had showed indications of being loyal. "The chief importance of Raja Ali Khan's territory lay in the fact that it included the mighty fortress of Asirgarh, commanding the main road to the Deccan, and justly regarded as one of the strongest and best equipped

1. *Ferishta*, Briggs, II, pp. 265, 269.

fortresses in Europe or Asia."[1] There was no unity among the Sultans of the Deccan, and they continued to fight among themselves, in spite of the common danger that now threatened their independence. Burhanu-l Mulk of Ahmadnagar died in 1594, and was succeeded by his son Ibrahim who was killed in battle by the Bijapuris in 1595. 'The Ahmadnagar nobles, refusing to acknowledge the new king, rebelled, and besieged Ahmadnagar. In this dilemma, finding himself unable to cope with his enemies, the party supporting the young prince entreated the help of the Mughals in Gujarat.

'Prince Murad, having previously received orders from his father, Akbar, to march into the Deccan, gladly embraced the proposal, and moved with great expedition to the south.' Abdurrahman, Khan-khanan, also marched to the south at the same time.

1. Siege of Ahmadnagar.

'Mian Manju (the minister) having, by this time, suppressed the rebellion, repented of his having called in the Mughals, and had already laid in a store of provisions in Ahmadnagar to defend it. He left Chand Bibi, the daughter of Husain Nizam Shah, to assume command of the fort, and himself marched with the remainder of the army, and a large train of artillery, towards the Bijapur frontier. The Prince Murad and Khan-khanan, instead of coming as allies now proceeded to lay siege to Ahmadnagar. In November 1595, the besiegers opened their trenches, and carried on approaches by raising mounds, erecting batteries, and sinking mines; while Chand Bibi, defended the place with masculine resolution, and wrote letters to Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur, and Kutb Shah of Golkonda, for aid. At the end of three months,............Chand Bibi appeared with a veil on her head. She got guns to be brought to bear on the assailants, and stones to be hurled on them, so that they were repulsed in several repeated attacks. During the night, she stood by the workmen, and caused the breach to be filled up nine feet, before daylight, with wood, stones, and earth, and dead carcasses. Meanwhile, a report

1. Smith, op cit., p. 247.

prevailed that the general of Ibrahim Adil Shah was on his march, in conjunction with Kutb Shahi troops, at the head of an army of 70,000 horse, to raise the siege. At the same time, a scarcity of provisions prevailing in the Mughal camp, the Prince and Khan-khanan thought it advisable to enter into negotiations with the besieged.

'It was stipulated by Chand Bibi, that Akbar should retain Berar, while Ahmadnagar and its original dependencies should remain entirely in the hands of Bahadur Shah, the grandson of Burhan Nizam Shah II. These terms being ratified, the Prince Murad and Khan-khanan marched towards Berar, where they built the town of Shahpur, near Balapur, and formed cantonments in that place (1596).

2. Battle of Supa.

'After the departure of the Mughals, Chand Bibi resigned her authority, ... and the nobles, contrary to her advice, and in violation of the late treaty, marched with 50,000 horse to the north, in order to expel the Mughals from Berar; while Khan-khanan leaving the Prince in Shahpur, moved with 20,000 horse accompanied by Raja Ali Khan Farukhi, to oppose them on the banks of the Godavari. On reaching the village of Supa, Khan-khanan halted for some days to inform himself of the situation and strength of the enemy, and having forded the river, then only knee-deep, drew up his army on the south bank . . . The Nizam Shahi troops were on the right, the Kutb Shahi on the left, and the Adil Shahis in the centre.

'On the side of the Mughals, Khan-khanan took post in the centre. Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh and Raja Ram Chunder, at the head of a body of volunteers, began the attack. The onset of the Mughals was begun with much intrepidity; they broke the advance troops of the Deccanis . . . . . However, they met with a check from a heavy discharge of artillery, small arms, and rockets, which did much execution among the Rajputs and the Khandesh troops; Raja Ali Khan and Raja Ram Chunder were both killed, and above three thousand of their men fell; the Mughal centre and left also gave way at the same time, and left the enemy master of the

field in that quarter . . . . But, Sohil Khan (the enemy's commander), after performing prodigies of valour, worn out by fatigue and loss of blood from wounds he received in the action, fell from his horse. Some of his dependants, however, bore him off the ground; and his army, according to custom, followed, leaving Khan-khanan master of the field; but being in no condition to pursue the fugitives, the Mughals returned to Shahpur.'

3. Emperor takes the field in Person.

'The private animosity that had long subsisted between the Prince Murad and the Khan-khanan, at this time rose to a dangerous height. The King, therefore, conceiving it imprudent to leave them any longer together, despatched Sheikh Abu-l Fazl, in the year 1006 H. (1597). Khan-khanan was recalled to the presence . . - . . . At this time Prince Murad Mirza, falling dangerously ill (of excessive drinking), died in 1007 H. . . . The King's grief at the death of his son increased his desire of conquering the Deccan, as a means of diverting his mind. In the meantime, the nobles of the Nizam Shahi dominions gained some slight advantages over the Mughals . . . . Khan-khanan was now despatched (again) to the Deccan, accompanied by Prince Daniyal, with orders to occupy the whole of the Nizam Shahi territory. Akbar also, in the year 1008, (1599), marched in person to the south, leaving his dominions in the north under the charge of the Prince Royal, Muhammad Salim Mirza.

'Meanwhile, Daniyal Mirza and the Khan-khanan entered the Deccan. Miran Bahadur Khan, son of Raja Ali Khan, unlike his father, assumed a hostile position in Asirgarh after the Mughal army had gone to the south. The Prince deemed it prudent, therefore, to halt on the banks of the Godavari, near Paithan, in order to conciliate him. But Akbar having reached Mandu directed the Mirza to proceed to Ahmadnagar, as he himself intended to besiege Asirgarh. Daniyal and Khan-khanan accordingly marched with about 30,000 horse towards Ahmadnagar. The Deccani officers flying before them, left the Mughals at liberty to advance without molestation.' The city of Ahmadnagar easily fell into

the hands of the Mughals, owing to its internal dissensions." Chand Bibi the only capable leader, was either murdered or constrained to take poison. The town surrendered in August 1600, after 1500 of the garrison had been put to the sword. The young prince and his family were committed to life-long imprisonment in the fort of Gwalior.

4. Capture of Asirgarh.

'Akbar failed in inducing Miran Bahadur Khan to submit to his authority. He accordingly proceeded to Burhanpur, and directed one of his generals to besiege Asirgarh which lay only six *kos* from that place. After the siege had continued a considerable time, the air, on account of the number of troops cooped up in the fort, became very unhealthy. This occasioned a pestilence which swept off several of the garrison; and although Miran Bahadur Khan had still sufficient men for the defence of Asir, as well as a large magazine of warlike stores and provisions, he began to despair. At this time also Ahmadnagar fell . , . . In the beginning of the year 1009 H. (1600), Miran Bahadur Khan, losing all courage, resigned the strong fortress of Asir into the hands of Akbar, and yielded up treasures and stores which had been accumulating therein for many ages. The wealth of Ahmadnagar was also brought to Burhanpur. Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur sent an ambassador to conciliate Akbar, and consented to give his daughter in marriage to his son, Prince Daniyal Mirza. A Mughal noble was accordingly despatched with suitable offerings to escort the bride from Bijapur. Asir, Burhanpur, Ahmadnagar, and Berar, were now consolidated into one province, the government of which was conferred upon Daniyal Mirza, under the management of Khan-khanan. The King, after these transactions, having returned in triumph to the city of Agra, in the year 1011 H. (1602) assumed by proclamation the title of Emperor of the Deccan, in addition to his other titles.'

(o) Death of Akbar.

'The above narrative of the conquest of the Deccan is mainly taken from Ferishta. The exact nature of the capitulation of Asigarh is one of the subjects of keen controversy. "Asirgarh,"

says Smith, "was the last of the long list of Akbar's conquests, which had been practically continuous for forty-five years."[1] The history of the remaining few years of Akbar's reign is thus briefly recorded by Ferishta :—

'In the course of the same year (1602), Sheikh Abu-l Fazl, was recalled from the Deccan; and that learned man was unfortunately attacked and cut off in the district of Nurwur, by banditti near Orcha. In the month of Safar, 1013 (June, 1604), Mir Jalalu-d din Husain, who had been deputed to Bijapur, returned with the royal bride and the stipulated dowry. He delivered the young Sultana to Daniyal upon the banks of the Godavari near Paithan,[2] where the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence; after which, Mir Jamalu-d din Husain proceeded to join the King at Agra. On the 1st of Zehuj, of the year 1013, the Prince Daniyal died, in the city of Burhanpur, owing to excess of drinking. His death and the circumstances connected with it, so much affected the King, who was in a declining state of health, that he every day became worse, till, on the 13th of Jumadu's-sani, in the year 1014 H. (Oct. 13, 1605), he died, after a reign of fifty-one years and some months. Eternity belongeth only to that King to whom our worship is due. The words "*The death of King Akbar*" contain the numeral letters which comprise the date of his death.'[3]

This account, although it refers to the assassination of Abu-l Fazl, fails to point out its connection with Prince Salim's rebellion. The murder of his great companion, as well as the misdemeanor of Prince Salim, must certainly have hastened Akbar's approaching end. The details concerning these closing events may be only briefly stated here :—

Prince Salim, on the testimony of Badauni, is accused of having poisoned his father, as early as 1591. 'In this year,'

1. Ibid., p. 287.
2. Ferishta personally accompanied the bride.
3. Briggs, ii, 280. According to Smith, "He died soon after mid-night, early in the morning of Thursday, Oct. 27, new style (Oct. 17, old style), or according to the Muhammadan reckoning, on Wednesday night."—Ibid. p. 324.

says Badauni, 'the Emperor's constitution became a little deranged and he suffered from stomach-ache and cholic . . . . . In his unconscious state he uttered some words which arose from suspicion of his eldest son, and accused him of giving poison.'[1] Commenting upon this, Smith observes, "It is impossible to say whether or not the suspicion was then justified; but it is certain that in 1600 Salim had become utterly weary of waiting for the long-deferred and ardently desired succession."[2] In 1598, when Akbar left for the southern campaign, he left Salim in charge at the capital. In 1600, when Usman Khan, an Afghan chief rebelled in Bengal, Salim was asked to proceed to the eastern province, but he preferred to remain at Allahabad, appropriated the vast revenues of Bihar (amounting to no less than 30 *lacs* of rupees) and assigned *jagirs* to some of his supporters. It was this grave misconduct of Salim that had made Akbar somehow finish the conquest of Asirgarh and hasten to the north. Akbar reached Agra in May 1601, and heard that Salim was coming to the court with 30,000 horse; had, in fact, reached Etawah, only 73 miles from the capital. Akbar thereupon ordered him to return to Allahabad, and at the same time conferred on him the government of Bengal and Orissa. Early in 1602, Salim required that he should be permitted to return to the capital with 70,000 men, that all his grants to his officers should be confirmed, and that his adherents should not be regarded as rebels. Still, Akbar could not make up his mind to fight this strange rebel. In the meanwhile, Salim continued in royal style at Allahabad, struck coin in his own name, and had even the impudence to send specimens of them to Akbar.

Unable to endure all this, the Emperor communicated his son's insolence to Abu-l Fazl in the Deccan. The valiant minister recommended strong action, and himself undertook to bring the Prince bound to the Court. But unfortunately, as stated above, he was intercepted by the hand of the assassin, Bir Singh Bundela who had been hired for the purpose by

1. Badauni, ii, p. 390.
2. Smith, op. cit., p. 301.

Salim. His head was sent to Allahabad, and "Salim received it with unholy joy and treated it with shameful insult." Salim records this crime in the following terms :—

'Sheikh Abu-l Fazl, who excelled the Sheikhzadas of Hindustan in wisdom and learning, had adorned himself outwardly with the jewel of sincerity, and sold it to my father at a heavy price. He had been summoned from the Deccan, and since his feelings towards me were not honest, he both publicly and privately spoke against me...It became necessary to prevent him from coming to court. As Bir Singh Deo's country was exactly on the route and he was then a rebel, I sent him a message that if he would stop that sedition-monger and kill him he would receive every kindness from me.

'By God's grace, when Sheikh Abu-l Fazl was passing through Bir Singh Deo's country, the Raja blocked his road, and after a little contest scattered his men and killed him. He sent his head to me in Allahabad. Although this event was a cause of anger in the mind of the late King (Akbar), in the end it enabled me to proceed, without much disturbance of mind, to kiss the threshold of my father's palace, and by degrees the resentment of the King was cleared away.'

Akbar became furious, and, distracted with grief, he declared : "If Salim wanted to be the Emperor, he might have killed me and spared Abu-l Fazl." For three days he abstained from appearing in public audience, and sent urgent orders to apprehend Bir Singh Deo. The murderer, though hotly pursued and wounded on one occasion, evaded capture, and lived to enjoy the favour of Jahangir. "The murder," says Smith, "was effectual for two years in stopping Akbar from taking strong measures to coerce his rebellious son."[1]

About April 1603, a temporary reconciliation was effected between father and son through the intercession of Salima Begum (Bairam Khan's widow, daughter of Humayun's sister Gulbadan Begum, whom Akbar had married, — the mother of Murad). Akbar went to the extent of taking off his own turban, and placing it on the head of his son, thus publicly

1. Ibid., p. 307.

recognising him as heir to the throne. But it was all in vain. Again, when Salim was ordered to march against Amar Singh (son of Rana Pratap), he went off to Allahabad and resumed his old and unfilial ways. Akbar was prevented from going after him by the death of his own mother Mariyam Makani in August 1604. In November, when Salim came to the capital, Akbar severely reproached him for his unfilial conduct, and by way of punishment deprived him of his accustomed dose of opium for 24 hours (according to *Ma'asir-i Jahangir*, of both liquor and opium for ten days), but ultimately softened and pardoned him. After this, Salim humbly accepted the government of the western provinces which had been held by his brother Daniyal but continued to live at Agra until Akbar's death in October 1605. [1]

Asad Beg records: 'During the Emperor's illness the weight of affairs fell upon the Khan-i azam (Aziz Koka), and when it became evident that the life of that illustrious sovereign was drawing to a close, he consulted the Raja Man Singh, one of the principal nobles, and they agreed to make Sultan Khusru Emperor.[2] They were both versed in business and possessed of great power, and determined to seize the Prince (Salim), when he came, according to his daily custom, to pay his respects at Court, thus displaying the nature of their mind, little considering that the sun cannot be smeared with mud, nor the marks of the pen of destiny be erased by the pen-knife of treachery. He whom the hand of the power of Allah upholds, though he be helpless in himself, is safe from all evil.' When these designs were frustrated by other loyal nobles, who declared, "This is contrary to the laws and customs of the Chaghatai Tatars, and shall never be;" Raja Man Singh saw the change in the aspect of affairs, and took Sultan Khusru with him to his own palace, and prepared boat, intending to escape the next day to Bengal. As soon as the Prince was relieved from all

1. Ibid., p. 319.

2. The Khan-i azam was Prince Khusru's father-in-law; and Khusru's mother was the daughter of Bhagwan Das, Man Singh's adopted father.

anxiety as to the course affairs were taking, he went with the great nobles, and Mir Murtaza Khan at their head, without fear, to the fort, and approached the dying Emperor. He was still breathing, as if he had only waited to see that illustrious one (Salim). As soon as that most fortunate Prince entered, he bowed himself at the feet of His Majesty. He saw that he was in his last agonies. The Emperor once more opened his eyes, and signed to them to invest him with the turban and robes which had been prepared for him, and to gird him with his own dagger. The attendants prostrated themselves and did homage; at the same moment that sovereign, whose sins are forgiven, bowed himself also and closed his life."[1]

There are various stories as to Akbar's death being due to poisoning; but Smith writes, "On the whole, while it is perhaps most probable that Akbar died a natural death, the general belief that he was poisoned in some fashion by somebody may have been well-founded. The materials do not warrant a definite judgment."[2]

(p) Akbar's Relations with the Europeans.

The Portuguese were the principal Europeans with whom Akbar came into contact, both for a religious and secular purpose. Although the Jesuits belonged to different nationalities, they acted in close unison with the Portuguese authorities at Goa. The English contact with Akbar was very slight.

In 1561, "the Portuguese were strongly established on the western coast in fortified settlements taken from the Sultans of the Deccan, and situated at Goa, with a considerable territory attached; Chaul, Bombaim (Bombay) with neighbouring places; Bassein (see Malabari, *Bombay in the Making*, p. 21); Daman, and Diu. Their fleet controlled the mercantile and pilgrim traffic of the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf. No other European power had gained any footing on the soil of India, and no Englishman had even landed in the country."[3]

1. E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 169-72.
2. Smith, op. cit., p. 326.
3. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 348.



By Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Bombay.

JAHANGIR

Akbar met the Portuguese for the first time, as we have noted, during his Gujarat campaign. In 1572, while at Cambay, some Portuguese merchants came to pay their respects. The next year, according to Abu-l Fazl, 'whilst the siege of Surat was proceeding, a large party of Christians from the port of Goa arrived; they were admitted to an audience with the Emperor, although it was probable that they had come to assist the besieged, and to get the fort into their own hands. But when they saw the strength of the Imperial force, and its power of carrying on the siege, they represented themselves to be ambassadors, and besought the honour of an interview. They offered various articles of the country as presents. Akbar treated each one of them with great condescension, and conversed with them about the affairs of Portugal, and other European matters.'[1] A treaty was also entered into with Antonio Cabral, the Portuguese envoy from Goa, one of the principal terms of which was assurance of the safety of the pilgrims to Mecca, who used to be molested by the Christians.

In 1576, the year following the building of the *Ibadat-Khana* (or the House of Worship), Akbar met two Jesuits (Anthony Vaz and Peter Diaz) in Bengal. Their reproof of Christian converts who wanted to defraud the Imperial treasury, by refusing to pay some legitimate shipping and other dues, impressed Akbar to a great extent about these strangers from Europe. Accordingly, he sent for Father Julian Pereira, the Vicar General at Satgaon. But the worthy Father "being a man of more piety than learning" could not satisfy Akbar's curiosity about the Christian religion.

In 1577, Akbar consulted Pietro Tavares, the captain or commandant of the port of Hugli; but, says Smith, "Naturally, he too was ill-qualified to answer correctly the various canundrums proposed to him." Nevertheless, Akbar made him a grant of land, some time between 1578-80.

In 1578, Antonio Cabral again visited Akbar at his Court; "but being a layman, he was not in a position to expound with authority the deeper matters of the faith."

1. *Akbar-Nama*, E. & D., op. cit., VI, p. 42.

These failures only whetted Akbar's curiosity more. So he sent despatches to Goa, both of a secular and religious character. He sent Haji Abdulla to bring from Goa European curios, and to copy anything worthy of imitation. Among the things that he brought back was a musical organ 'like a great box, the size of a man, played by a European sitting inside.' The wind was supplied by bellows or fans of peacock's feathers. Some Europeans, and others dressed like Europeans also accompanied the organ. But the more important purpose of the embassy was for missionaries.

In September 1579, Akbar's embassy reached Goa with the following message :—

First Jesuit Mission from Goa.

'Order of Jalalu-d din the Great, King by God appointed, Fathers of the Order of St. Paul, know that I am most kindly disposed towards you. I send Abdulla, my ambassador, and Dominic Pires, to ask you in my name to send me two learned priests who should bring with them the chief books of the Law and the Gospel, for I wish to study and learn the Law and what is best and most perfect in it. The moment my ambassadors return let them not hesitate to come with them and let them bring the books of the Law. Know also that so far as I can I shall receive most kindly and honourably the priests who will come. Their arrival will give me the greatest pleasure, and when I shall know about the Law and its perfection what I wish to know, they will be at liberty to return as soon as they like, and I shall not let them go without loading them with honours and gifts. Therefore, let them not have the slightest fear to come. I take them under my protection. Fare you well.'

Although at first the Portuguese Viceroy hesitated, the Committee of Bishops decided on November 10, 1579, in favour of the despatch of the Mission. The Fathers selected for the service were Rudolf Aquaviva, Antony Monserrate, and Francis Henriquez. "Of these, Henriquez was a Persian by origin, a native of Ormuz and a convert from Islam, who was intended to help as interpreter to the Mission. Monserrate, a Spaniard from Catalonia, forty-three years of age, was a wise and obser-

vant man of studious habits, and to him we owe an admirable first-hand description of the Mission and of the Mughal Court . . . Rudolf Aquaviva, the third member and leader of the Mission, was an Italian of high social status and of outstanding sanctity."[1]

The Mission started on November 17, 1579, and reached Fathpur Sikri on February 27 or 28, 1580. "This Mission," observes Sir Edward Maclagan, "came to Akbar's Court at a time of great interest in the development of his religious policy, and its doings have received notice at the hands of the contemporary Indian Historians, Badaoni and Abul Fazl; the former writing from the orthodox Muslim standpoint and the latter from Akbar's own eclecticism. We have also first-hand information recorded by the members of the Mission themselves." Monserrate's *Relacam* (1582) contains "the best contemporary sketch of the character and power of Akbar at the time of the Mission and the *Commentarious* (1590) which forms the best general account which we possess of the Mission itself."

The object of the Mission was the "glory of the Church and the benefit of Portugal." The missionaries were ambitious of converting the inhabitants of "Mogor". But, as Maclagan says, "in view of the unsolicited invitation addressed to Goa and the known proclivities of Akbar, it was ardently hoped that this object might be achieved through the medium of the conversion of the King. All the efforts of the Mission were therefore at the first concentrated on the King himself. Royal converts were not unknown in the Indies . . . . . - a near relation of Bijapur had been baptised at Goa shortly after Father Rudolf's arrival from Europe . . . . There was therefore nothing impossible or fantastic in the scheme of the Mission and, as the Jesuits were admittedly the Order best fitted to deal with such cases, the Mission commenced with well-founded hopes of success."[2]

1. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 24.
2. Ibid., p. 27.

Akbar received the members of the Mission very cordially. "On arrival they were offered large sums of money, and gained much consideration by their refusal to accept more than was necessary for subsistence. They were accorded quarters in the palace...They were given food from the royal table; and, when Monserrate was ill, the King proceeded to visit him and greeted him in Portuguese. In personal intercourse with the King the Fathers were treated with special courtesy. 'He never allowed them', says Monserrate, 'to remain uncovered in his presence; both at the solemn meetings of the grandees and in private interviews, when he would take them inside for private colloquy, he would tell them to sit near him. He would shake hands with them most familiarly and would call them apart from the body of ordinary retainers to indulge with them in private conversation. More than once, in public, he walked a short distance with Rudolf, his arm round Rudolf's neck . . .' This familiarity encouraged the Fathers to speak to him seriously on faults in his regime or his conduct.... 'modestly however and not without first examining what mood he was in.'"[1]

The King, in short, allowed them every liberty, and even permitted them to preach and convert people. 'His Majesty,' says Badauni, 'ordered Prince Murad to take a few lessons in Christianity under good auspices and charged Abu-l Fazl to translate the Gospel.' During the Kabul campaign, Father Monserrate was allowed to accompany the King, and we have accordingly from the Father's pen an intimate and detailed account of Akbar's camp, his forces, the towns through which he passed, his advance beyond the Indus, and his final triumphant entry into Kabul: a document, as Maclagan points out, which no future historian of Akbar can fail to utilize. 'The King', says Monserrate, 'listened; but not to appear drawn to the Christian faith, he pretended sometimes to be occupied with other things. At the same time he did not fear to honour and kiss publicly the image of Christ.' At this attitude of Akbar the Fathers got disappointed, and even

1. Ibid., p. 32.

declared, 'Giving the pearls of the Gospel to the King was exposing them to be trampled and trodden under foot.' The Provincial at Goa, accordingly bade them return, but at the same time left them the discretion to stay on if that would serve any purpose.

Akbar was loth to part with the Fathers, but Monserrate left him under the pretext of leading an embassy from Akbar to Philip II, King of Spain. Rudolph Aquaviva, who was more hopeful, remained at Fathpur for some time longer. His letter to the General of the Society of Jesus is valuable as revealing the hopes and designs of the Christians :—

'First' he wrote, 'the Emperor is in a more hopeful state than heretofore : he desires to know our Faith and attends to it with greater diligence than at first, showing much affection thereto, though impediments are not also lacking, and the love and familiarity with which he treats us leave nothing to be desired. (2) We hope to see some fruit from the Emperor's second son, Pahari, a boy of thirteen years of age, who is learning the Portuguese language and therewith the things relating to our Faith, and who shows himself well disposed thereto and who is of great natural genius and has good inclination. Father Monserrate was his teacher and now I am. (3) We have discovered a new nation of heathens called Bottan (Tibetans) which is beyond Lahore towards the river Indus, a nation very well inclined and given to pious works. They are white men, and Mohammedans do not live among them, wherefore hope that if two earnest Fathers are sent thither, a great harvest of other heathens may be reaped. (4) There is here an old man, the father of the Emperor's secretary, in whom he confides in matters of Faith. He has left the world and is of great virtue and given much to contemplation of divine things, whence he appears disposed to receive the light of our Faith. He is very friendly to us and listens to our Faith and we have already visited him several times at his house with much consolation. (5) Where we are is the true India, and this realm is but a ladder which leads to the greater part of Asia ; and now that the Society has obtained a footing and is

so favoured by so great an Emperor and by his sons, it seems not fitting to leave it before trying all possible means to commence the conversion of the continent of India; seeing that all that had so far been done has been merely on the sea-coast.'

In spite of all these hopes, the reports of Father Monserrate were not encouraging, and Father Rudolf was also finally recalled by the Provincial at Goa. In February 1583, he left Akbar carrying with him an appreciatory epistle to the following effect:—

'God is great. Farman of Jalau-d din Muhammad Akbar Padshah Ghazi...With regard to what he (the Provincial) wrote to me about sending hence Father Rudolf,—since I like very much the Book of the Heavenly Jesus, and desire to discover the truth of it with the aid of his skill to find out the meanings of those who have written in the past, therefore I have much love for the Father; and, considering that he is wise and versed in the laws, I desire to have him every hour in conversation with me, and for this reason I refused him the permission; but as Your Paternity asked it me by letter several times, I did so, and gave him the permission; and as my intention is that our friendship should go on increasing more and more day by day, it behoves Your Paternity to labour on your side towards preserving it, by sending Rudolph back to me with some other Father, and I wish this with least possible delay; for I desire that the Fathers of this Order be with me, because I like them much. And to the Father I said many things by words of mouth, for him to repeat them to Your Paternity, which Your Paternity will consider well. Done in the moon of the month of February 1583.'

Father Rudolph, however, met with an unexpected death and martyrdom. On the 27th July (N. S.), 1583, he was killed together with four companions by a fanatical mob of Hindus at Cuncolim near Goa. In 1593 Rudolph was beatified by the Church, and is now known as the Blessed Rudolph Aquaviva. Akbar, when he heard of this untoward end of the Father, exclaimed 'Ah me, Father. Did I not tell you not to go away? But you would not listen to me'. He loved him, says

Monserrate, not because he himself wished to become a Christian, but because he recognised the intense conviction of the Father in the truth of his own religion and his desire to bring others to his own way of life. Thus ended the First Jesuit Mission to the Court of Akbar.[1]

Second Jesuit Mission from Goa.

In 1590, Akbar for a second time renewed his intercourse with the Christians at Goa. This time he found a Greek sub-deacon named Leo Grimon to carry his message to the Provincial. "On this occasion," so ran the Emperor's *parwana* addressed to his various provincial officers, who were asked to give safe conduct to the Christian envoy, "I am summoning the most learned and most virtuous of the Fathers that they may help me to a true knowledge of the Christian law and of the royal highways by which they travel to the presence of God. I, therefore, command my officers aforesaid to bestow great honour and favour both on Dom Leo Grimon and on the Fathers for whom I am sending......" To the Fathers of the Society, he wrote :—

"In the name of God. The exalted and invincible Akbar to those who are in God's grace and have tasted of His Holy Spirit and to those that are obedient to the Spirit of the Messiah and lead men to God. I say to you learned Fathers, whose words are heeded as those of men retired from the world, who have left the pomps and honours of earth: Fathers who walk by the true way; I would have your Reverences know that I have knowledge of all the faiths of the world both of various kinds of heathen and of the Muhammedans, save that of Jesus Christ which is from God and as such recognised and followed by many. Now, in that, I feel great inclination to the friendship of the Fathers, I desire that I may be taught by them the Christian law. There has recently come to my Court and royal palace one Dom Leo Grimon, a person of great merit and good discourse, whom I have questioned on sundry matters, and who has answered well to the satisfaction of myself and my doctors. He has assured me that there are in India (Portuguese) several Fathers of great

1. Ibid., pp. 37-40.

prudence and learning, and if this be so, your Reverences will be able, immediately on receiving my letter, to send some of them to my Court with all confidence, so that in disputations with my doctors I may compare their several learning and character, and see the superiority of the Fathers over my doctors,...and who by this means may be taught to know the truth. If they will remain in my Court, I shall build them such lodging that they may live in greater honour and favour than any Father who has up to this been in this country and when they wish to leave I shall let them depart with honour. You should, therefore, do as I ask of you in this letter. Written at the commencement of the moon of June."[1]

The Provincial, accordingly, sent two Portuguese Fathers, Edward Leioton (Leitanus) and Christopher di Vega, with an assistant, who were received in Lahore in 1591. The Provincial's report to his Superior dated November 1591, mentions, 'This embassy induced many, not only of the Fathers, but also of the students, to apply to be sent on the Mission, and there were chosen for the purpose two Fathers and a companion who reached the Emperor's Court in 1591, and were received with great kindness. Every kind of favour was shown to them in the palace itself, necessaries were supplied, and a school was started in which the sons of nobles and the Emperor's own sons (Murad and Daniyal) and grandson (Khusru) were taught to read and write Portuguese.

'But when the Fathers saw that the Emperor had not decided as they expected, they proposed to return to Goa, but were bidden by me not to do so.........And *as the conversion of the Emperor to the Catholic Faith is a matter of the greatest moment, it is necessary to proceed skilfully and justly in the matter.*'

But, as Smith observes, "No printed record explains how, why, or exactly when the Mission came to an abrupt conclusion. Its members were recalled and returned to Goa, at some time in 1592 .... The suspicion seems justifiable that the Fathers selected were not in all respects the right persons for the task

1. Ibid., pp. 46-7.

entrusted to them, and that they might have been somewhat faint-hearted."[1] Thus closed the Second Mission like the First, in disappointment and failure.

Third Jesuit Mission from Goa.

In 1594 Akbar, for the third time, desired the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa to send a party of learned Christians to him. The message was conveyed by an Arminian Christian. But the Provincial, being very much disappointed by the results of the first two missions was not inclined to comply with the request. The Viceroy, however, thought differently. He hoped for "*good results not merely of a religious but also of a political character*". So it was finally decided to send a Mission.

Father Jerome Xavier, a grand-nephew of St. Francis Xavier, Father Emmanuel Pinheiro and Brother Benedict de Goes were selected for the purpose. "They were, each in his own line, men of outstanding competence."[2] The first had seen much service in India and had held positions of trust. For twenty years he was to remain at the Mughal Court, "*working sometimes for the conversion of Emperors, and sometimes for the material advancement of the Portuguese*".[3] In the end he too returned to Goa and died there in June 1617. The second, according to Maclagan, "seems to have been the first of the Jesuits in Mogor to turn his attention seriously to the people rather than the Court."[4] He remained for many years at Lahore as pastor of a large congregation, and at the same time enjoyed much favour and influence with Akbar. He returned to Goa in 1615, and only four years later 'he departed hence to a better Mission'. Brother Benedict seemed little interested in the Court of the Mughal, and distinguished himself by undertaking a Mission from Lahore to China, in 1603. He died there in 1604.

On December 3, 1594, the party left Goa, sailing *via* Daman to Cambay. Thence they proceeded through the

1. Smith, op. cit., pp. 254–55.
2. Maclagan, op. cit., p. 50.
3. Ibid., p. 51.
4. Ibid.

desert of Rajputana, and after five months reached Lahore on May 5, 1595. From this time to the death of Akbar, in 1605, there are two batches of Jesuit letters giving valuable information. The Indian sources for this period are scanty, and throw little light on the subject of Akbar's relations with the Christians. Badauni's account stops with 1595 and Abu-l Fazl's with 1602. Father Jerome Xavier, the head of the Mission was in attendance on Akbar all the last ten years of the Emperor's life. He also accompanied Akbar during his Deccan campaign.

Like its predecessors, this Mission was also well received at Lahore. Father Pinheiro states in his letter of September 1595, 'Both Emperor and Prince (Salim) favoured us and treated us with much kindness and I observed that he paid to none of his own people as much attention as he paid to us, for he desired us to sit in turn upon the cushion on which he and the Prince alone are wont to sit.' On the 20th August the same year, Father Jerome Xavier also wrote, 'He (Akbar) received us publicly with great honour and kindness and whenever he sees us he maintains the same attitude towards us and has us near him among the chief lords of the Court... He has images of our Lord Christ and of the blessed Virgin which are of the best kind of those which are brought from Europe and he keeps them with respect and reverence. He evinces the greatest pleasure in showing them to others, holding them in arms for a long time in spite of fatigue which their size entails....He sent us very costly gold and silk clothes, where-with his servants handsomely adorned our chapel......The Emperor gave us leave to bring together as many as might so wish to the church of Christ.'

He allowed them to start a school which was attended by the sons of some of the feudatory Princes and those of the Chief of Badakhshan. Two of these pupils asked to become Christians and one even wished to be admitted to Orders. The question of a site for a church at Lahore was mooted and a church was ultimately built. It was opened in 1597 while Akbar was in Kashmir and the Governor of the city attended

in person, remaining for some two hours conversing with Father Pinheiro in his house. At the following Christmas Brother Benedict de Goes prepared a sacred Crib which was much admired. The Royal Princes followed Akbar's example in their attention to the Fathers and one of them went so far as to present large candles to be burnt in honour of Christ and the Virgin, accompanying his gift with liberal alms for the poor. The heir apparent himself, Prince Salim, became the firm friend and protector of the Mission.[1]

When Akbar went to Kashmir in May, as above referred to, he took with him both Father Xavier, and Brother Goes. They stayed till November 1597. During their stay a great famine raged in the valley, and the Father baptised many orphans that had been left in the streets to die. After their return both the Father and Brother suffered for about two months from fever. They had spent altogether two and a half years at the Court of Akbar with no encouraging result, so far as their main purpose was concerned. In 1598 the King of Spain wrote to his Viceroy at Goa that, although the Fathers had not yet produced any fruit, the Mission should not be allowed to expire, and ordered that, if the Fathers should die or have to be recalled, their places should be filled. 'The fruit,' he wrote, 'which has hitherto not shown itself, may appear whenever God pleaseth and when human hopes are perhaps the smallest.' But the Fathers got exasperated with Akbar's attitude. Akbar explained to them courteously that, whereas former rulers would have tried to suppress them, he had allowed them every liberty in his dominions.

The Fathers accompanied Akbar during his southern campaign. When he found himself confronted with the difficult siege of Asirgarh, Akbar asked the Jesuits to procure the assistance of the Portuguese authorities at Goa. But Xavier refused on the plea that *such action was contrary to the Christian faith*. Du Jarric, however, points out that *the Father must also have been influenced by the fact that the Khandesh forces against whom Akbar was fighting were in*

1. Ibid., p. 54.

alliance with the Portuguese.[1] This, therefore, enraged Akbar against the Jesuits whose objection seemed to him mere casuistry. For a time, until his wrath subsided, the Fathers withdrew from his presence.

Asirgarh fell in January 1601. The Jesuits have given their own account of some of its details, "Whatever the truth as regards these incidents may be," says Maclagan, "the main point of interest to the Jesuits was that when the fort fell seven renegade Portuguese officers, who were captured among the defenders and were about to be subjected to cruel treatment, were, at Father Xavier's request, handed over to him and were by him reconverted to Christianity."[2] Then Father Pinheiro arrived from Lahore, and he with Father Xavier went into the presence of the King who received them with much kindness, laying his hand on Pinheiro's shoulder ('which he does not do save to his great captains and his special favourites'). Akbar returned to Agra in May 1601 together with Fathers Xavier and Pinheiro.

Before his return, however, he had sent an embassy to Goa, for the fourth time, but only for a secular purpose. In his letter dated 20 March, 1601, Akbar requested, not for priests, but for a political alliance, skilled craftsmen, precious stones, etc. The Portuguese authorities exhibited all their ammunition to the ambassador and fired a demonstration salvo out of their heavy ordnance, but nothing more came out of the embassy.

In the following year, with the arrival of two other missionaries, Goes and Machado, the Jesuit Fathers at the Mughal Court formed a sort of 'College' or monastery. Now they succeeded in securing from Akbar, despite much opposition, notably from Mirza Aziz Koka, a written sanction under the Royal Seal expressly permitting such of his subjects as desired to embrace Christianity to do so without let or hindrance. Fifty Portuguese captives, who were held to ransom by Akbar, were also released and well treated by the interces-

1. Ibid., pp. 57-8.
2. Ibid., 58.

sion of the Fathers. 'My lord', said Xavier, 'you have liberated fifty captives, and in so doing have made fifty thousand Portuguese your servants.'[1]

In spite of these cordialities, the Portuguese Fathers suffered much hostility from some of the orthodox Muslim nobles, but more particularly on account of the intrigues of other Europeans who were now gathering up at the Court of the Grand Mughal. Consequently, in 1605, when Akbar lay on his death-bed, the Jesuits were not allowed to be by his side. Their account of the happenings is thus given by Guerreiro and du Jarric :—

'The Fathers, who had full information of the King's sickness, went on a Saturday to see him in the hope that he would hear the words which, after long thought and having commended the matter to God, they had prepared for this hour. But they found him amongst his Captains, and in so cheerful and merry a mood, that they deemed the time unsuitable for speaking to him of the end of this life, and decided to await another opportunity. They came away fully persuaded that he was making good progress. . . . On the Monday following, however, it was reported on all sides that . . . . . His Majesty was dying. On hearing this the Fathers went to the palace; but they could find no one who could make their arrival known to the King, or dare to speak to him of them; for already such matters were more in the hands of the great nobles than of the King himself; and hence every means by which the Fathers tried to gain entrance was ineffectual.'[2]

Akbar and the English.

Direct intercourse between England and India began as early as October 1579 when Father Thomas Stevens, a Jesuit from Oxford, arrived in Goa. He remained there for forty years, studied Konkani, wrote its grammar, and also a book of verses containing 11,000 strophes of high literary merit. His letters to England stimulated much interest in that country about India. Consequently, in 1581, a company of English merchants

1. Ibid., pp. 645.
2. Ibid., p. 62.

started with a Charter from Elizabeth, and two years later sent John Newbury, a London merchant, on the first British mercantile adventure to India. William Leedes, a jeweller, and James Story, a painter, and Ralph Fitch, another London merchant, accompanied Newbury. At Goa they were imprisoned as heretics and obtained release on bail, with considerable difficulty, owing to the good offices of Father Stevens. James Story alone was welcomed by the Jesuits as an artist capable of painting their Church. He settled down in Goa, married a half-caste girl, opened a shop, and gave up all thought of returning to Europe. His three companions escaped secretly, visited Belgaun, Bijapur, Golkonda, Masulipatam, Burhanpur, Mandu, and went to Agra *via* Malwa and Rajaputana, 'passing many rivers, which by reason of the rain were so swollen that we waded and swam often times for our lives.' Fitch was the only member of this party that returned to Europe; he reached London in 1591. The others were never heard of again.

Fitch has left some interesting impressions of his visit to Fathpur Sikri and Agra :—"Agra," he writes, "is a very great citie, and populous, built with stone, having faire and large streets, with a faire river running by it, which falls into the gulfe of Bengala. It hath a faire castle and a strong, with a very faire ditch. Here be many Moores and Gentiles, the king is called Zelabdin (Jalalu-d din) Echebar: the people for the most part call him the great Mogor.

"From thence wee went for Fatepore, which is the place where the king kept his court. The towne is greater than Agra, but the houses and streets be not so faire. Here dwell many people both Moores and Gentiles. (Muhammadans and Hindus).

"The king hath in Agra and Fatepore as they doe credibly report 1,000 elephants, thirtie thousand horses, 1,400 tame deere, 800 concubines; such store of Ounces (cheetah ?), Tigers, Buffles (buffaloes kept for fighting), Cocks and Haukes, that is very strange to see.

"He kept a great Court, which they call Dericcan.

"Agra and Fatepore are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous.[1] Between Agra and Fatepore are 12 miles (*kos* ?—23 miles) and all the way is a market of victuals and other things, as full as though a man were still in a towne, and so many people as if a man were in a market.

"They have many fine cartes, and many of them carved and gilded with gold, with two wheeles, which be drawen with two litle Buls about the bignesse of our great dogs in England. Hither is great resort of merchants from Persia and out of India, and very much merchandise of silke and cloth, and of precious stones, both Rubies, Diamants, and Pearles. The king is apparelled in a white Cabie, made like a shirt tied with strings on the one side, and a little cloth on his head coloured often times with red or yellow. None come into his house but his eunuches which keepe his women." [2]

The next Englishman to come to India was John Mildenhall or Midnall, who bore a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Akbar, requesting liberty to trade in his dominions on terms as good as those enjoyed by the Portuguese. No text of the letter is extant. Mildenhall who was a merchant, sailed from London on February 12, 1599. He made his way to Lahore, early in 1603, by the land route *via* Kandahar. He brought to the Emperor 29 good horses, some of which cost £50 or 60 each. He stated his mission before the council of ministers, and also asked the Emperor not to take offence if the English should capture Portuguese ships or ports on his coasts. Some days later Akbar presented him with gifts worth £500, which put the Jesuits 'in an exceeding great rage'. They began to denounce Englishmen as thieves and spies. In six months time " the Jesuits bought over Akbar's two principal ministers with bribes of at least £500 each, and enticed away the Armenian interpreter of the envoy, who was obliged

1. The population of London in 1580 was 123,034, and 152,478 between 1593-5. The population of Fathpur Sikri, according to Smith, may have been about 200,000 in 1585.—Smith, op. cit., p. 108, n 5.

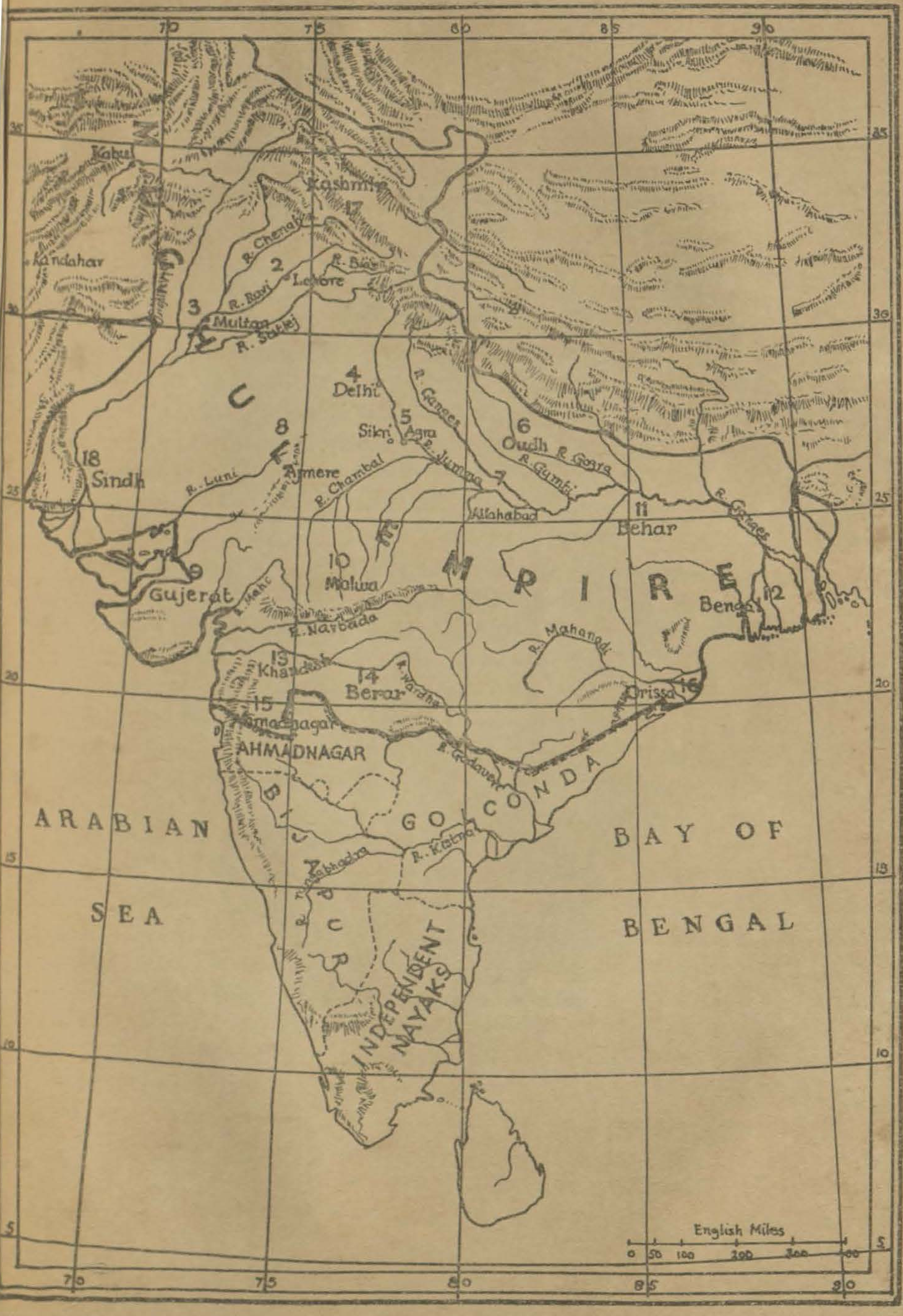
2. Ibid., pp. 108-9.

to work hard studying Persian for six months in order to be able to speak for himself."[1] When Akbar heard the case against the Jesuits, he granted a *farman* to Mildenhall. "The discomfiture of the Jesuits," says Smith "must have taken place in August or September 1605, after the reconciliation with Salim and shortly before Akbar's fatal illness, which began late in September."[2]

Mildenhall's negotiations perhaps were responsible for the decision taken a few years later to send Sir Thomas Roe as the duly accredited ambassador of James I. Not until August 1608, however, did the first English vessel, *Hector* call at the port of Surat. The Englishmen who visited India during Akbar's life-time were only pioneers unconscious of the great good fortune which lay in store for their country in the future.

The Dutch had come to India, but they confined their activities to the coasts of India and never cared to visit either the Court or the capital of Akbar.

1. Ibid., p. 293.
2. Ibid., p. 294.



Sketch by Mr. V. N. Ambdekar

MUGHAL EMPIRE IN 1605 A. D.

CHAPTER VI

REORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE

'I hate the rancour of their castes and creeds,
I let them worship as they will, I reap
No revenue from the field of unbelief.
I call from every faith and race the best
And bravest soul for counsellor and friend.'

Tennyson, AKBAR'S DREAM.

Those that take up the sword can have only one justification, *viz.*, seeking, not merely extension of dominion, but also the welfare of people coming under their sway. Sher Shah had tried to rule according to this principle, and though Providence had given him no worthy heir to ensure its continuance, his good work did not perish with him. Akbar carried to perfection, so far as it was possible for his genius to accomplish, the policy which the enemy of his house had inaugurated. He strove to achieve what might be called the true aims of a benevolent autocracy. In the words of Abu-l Fazl, 'It is universally agreed that the noblest employments are the reformation of the manners of the people; the advancement of agriculture; the regulation of the officers; and the discipline of the army. And these desirable ends are not to be attained without studying to please the people, joined with good management of finances, and an exact economy in the management of the State. But when all these are kept in view, every class of people enjoys prosperity.' Akbar sought to achieve these ends, and his administration, as Moreland, has pointed out, was "severely practical." A chief or *raja* who submitted and agreed to pay a reasonable revenue, therefore, was commonly allowed to retain his posi-

tion of authority. His administrative system nevertheless, favoured the direct relations between the State and the individual peasant, the assessment and collection of revenue being controlled from the centre, and the officers having to account in detail for all receipts "[1] It was in fact a centralised monarchy acting through a bureaucratic machinery; all the strings of the government were in the Emperor's own hands and controlled by him directly. Yet, for the sake of administrative convenience, there were the usual Departments: Military, Revenue, Justice and Religion. Prof. (Sir) J. N. Sarkar has given the following description of them in his *Mughal Administration* :—

I. CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

'The chief Departments of the Mughal administration were :—

1. The Exchequer and Revenue (under the High *Diwan*).

2. The Imperial Household (under the *Khan-i-saman*).

3. The Military Pay and Accounts Office (under the Imperial *Bakshi*).

4. Canon Law, both Civil and Criminal (under the Chief *Qazi*).

5. Religious Endowments and Charity (under the Chief *Sadr*).

6. Censorship of Public Morals (under the *Muhtasib*).

'Inferior to these, but ranking almost like the Departments, were:

7. The Artillery (under the *Mir Atish* or *Darogha-i-topkhana*).

8. Intelligence and Posts (under the *Darogha of Dak-chauki*).

'The innumerable *karkhanas* (*i. e.*, factories and stores), each under a *darogha* or superintendent, were not Departments. Most of them were under the *Khan-i-saman*.'

1. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 3 and 34.

1. *The Chancellor*: The highest officer next to the Emperor was called the *Wazir* or *Vakil*. He was the Prime-Minister or Chancellor of the Empire, and under the later Mughals he exercised dictatorial authority, like the Mayors of the Palace in medieval France, or the Peshwas in India. He was always the *Diwan* as well, and in this capacity the head of the Revenue Department. Like every great officer of the Mughal Government, he was expected to command an army, and often did lead a short expedition; but the necessity of his constant attendance on the Emperor prevented him from taking charge of military operations for a long time or at a distance from the Imperial camp. 'Thus, in its origin the *Wazir's* post was a civil one, and his assumption of the supreme military direction was abnormal and a mark of Imperial decadence.'[1]

2. *The Bakshi or Pay-Master* :—Almost all officers of any rank being enrolled, at least in theory, as military commanders, their salaries were calculated in terms of the contingents under them and passed by the Pay-Master of the Army. This officer at a later time was called the *Mir* or First *Bakshi* when he had under him three others, respectively called the Second, Third, and Fourth *Bakshis*. Greater particulars of this Department will be considered later.

3. *The Khan-i-saman or High Steward* :—This important officer was the head of the Imperial household. According to Manucci, "He had charge of the whole expenditure of the royal household in reference to both great and small things."[2] All the personal staff of the Emperor was under his control, and he also supervised the Emperor's daily expenditure (*e. g.* food, tents, stores, etc.). Often *Wazirs* were chosen from among the *Khan-i-samans*.

4. *The Qazi-ul-quzat or Chief Judge* :—This '*Qazi* of the Imperial Camp', as he was also designated, made all the appointments of local *qazies* in various parts of the Empire.

5. *The Sadr-us-sudur or Chief Sadr* :—This officer was the Chief Civil Judge and Supervisor of the Endowments of land

1. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 22-3.
2. Ibid., op. cit., p. 26 n.

made by the Emperor or Princes, for the support of pious men, scholars and monks. 'It was his duty to see that such grants were applied to the right purpose and also to scrutinise applications for fresh grants......The *Sadr* was also the Emperor's almoner and had the spending of the vast sums which the Emperors set apart for charity in the month of Ramzan and other holy occasions,—amounting to 1½ lakhs of rupees in the reign of Aurangzeb, and at Court ceremonies.[1] Like the Chief *Qazi*, he also made the appointments of the local *Sadr*. For this post, men of the best Arabic scholarship and sanctity of life were selected.

6. *Muhtasib or Censor of Public Morals*:—His duties were to see that Muslims led lives according to the Prophet's commands, and did not indulge in forbidden things. A part of the instructions issued to the Censor ran—'In the cities do not permit the sale of intoxicating drinks, nor the residence of 'professional women' (*tawaif*, dancing-girls), as it is opposed to the Sacred Law. Give good counsel and warning to those who violate the Quranic precepts. Do not show harshness (at first), for then they would give you trouble. First send advice to the leaders of these people, and if they do not listen to you, then report the case to the Governor.'[2]

VII. PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

'The administrative agency in the provinces of the Mughal Empire', observes Sarkar, 'was an exact miniature of that of the Central Government.' The Governor was officially called the *Nazim*, but popularly known as the *Subahdar*. The administration was concentrated at the provincial capital. Touch with the villages was maintained by (i) the *fauzdar*, (ii) the revenue collectors, (iii) *zamindar's* visits to the *Subahdar*, and (iv) the tours of the *Subahdar* himself. But in spite of all this the villagers led their own peaceful life under their local *panchayat* administration, undisturbed for the most part by what took place in the rest of the world.

1. Ibid., p. 28.
2. Ibid., pp. 30-1.

The duties of the principal provincial officers were as follows :—

1. *The Subahdar* : His chief function was to maintain order in his province, to assist the collection of revenue, and to execute the Imperial *farmans* sent to him. He also collected the tribute due from the vassal princes in the neighbourhood of his jurisdiction. The instructions issued to a new *subahdar*, though they look like counsels of perfection, were: 'He ought to keep all classes of men pleased by good behaviour, and to see that the strong may not oppress the weak. He should keep all the oppressors down...the *subahdar* should take care to recommend only worthy officials for promotion......and every month send two despatches to Court by *dak-chauki* reporting the occurrences of the province.

'When you are appointed, you should engage a good *diwan*,—a trustworthy and experienced man who has already done work in the service of some high grandee,—and a *munshi* (secretary) with similar ability and experience. You should secure a trustworthy mediator or friend (*wasilah*) at Court to report promptly to the Emperor and take his orders on any affair of the province on which you may write to His Majesty......

'*Encourage the ryots to extend the cultivation and carry on agriculture with all their heart. Do not screw everything out of them. Remember that the ryots are permanent* (i. e., the only permanent source of income to the State). Conciliate the *zamindars* with presents ; *it is cheaper to keep them in hand thus than to repress them with troops*.'[1]

2. *The Provincial Diwan*: He was the second officer in the province, and 'the rival of the *subahdar*.' The two kept a jealous and strict watch over each other. The provincial *Diwan* was appointed by the Imperial officer of the same name, and was in constant correspondence with him. He was specially charged to increase the cultivation and select only honest men for the post of *amin*. Twice every month he was to report to the High *Diwan* the occurrences of the *subah*,

1. Ibid., pp. 57-61.

with a statement of the cash balance with him. 'The *Diwan* was specially urged to appoint as collectors (*kroris* and *tahsildars*) practical men who were likely to *induce the ryots to pay the government-dues of their own accord, without the necessity of resorting to harshness or chastisement*' (*Manual*, 13–14). The *sanad* of appointment ran: 'Cause the extension of cultivation and habitation in the villages. Watch over the Imperial treasury, that nobody may draw any money without due warrant. When due money is paid into the treasury from the chests of the *fotadars* and other sources, give receipts (*quaz-ul-wasul*) to their agents. *See that no official (amil) exacts any forbidden cess (abwab).*

"At the end of every agricultural season ascertain from the original (rough) papers the extortions and peculations of the *amils* and recover for the Imperial treasury whatever may be due from them on this account. *Report bad or dishonest amils to Government* (i. e., to the High *Diwan*) *so that better men may be appointed to replace them.*

"If any *amil* has let arrears (of revenue) accumulate for many years, you should collect the due amount from the villages in question by *easy instalments* at the rate of 5 per cent. every season. The *taqavi* loan given last year by Government should be realised in the first season of the present year. If they fail to pay or delay payment, Government will compel the *Diwan* and the *amin* to make the amount good. Send the papers of your Department to the Imperial Record Office according to the regulations."[1]

3. *The Faujdar*: The *faujdars* were assistants of the *subahdar* in the maintenance of peace and the discharge of all his executive duties. Each *faujdar* was in charge of a division or district of the province. The following instructions were issued to them:—

'A *faujdar* should be brave and *polite* in dealing with his soldiers. He should enlist in his contingent of armed retainers only men of known bravery and good family . . . . .

1. Ibid., pp. 62-63.

'Keep up your practice in the exercise of all weapons of war, in hunting and in riding horses, so as to keep yourself in a fit condition and to be able to take the field promptly (when called upon to march to a scene of disturbance.) Do justice to the oppressed. (*Manual*, 34–36).

'Destroy the forts of lawless men and rebel chiefs as the best means of punishing them. Guard the roads, protect the revenue-payers. Assist and give (armed) support to the *gumashtahs* (agents) of the *jagirdars* (in the case of military fiefs) and the *kroris* (in the case of Crown-lands) at the time of collecting the revenue.

'Forbid the blacksmiths to manufacture matchlocks. Urge the *thanahdars* (men in command of the outposts or smaller areas within a *faujdari*), whom you appointed under yourself, to take complete possession of their charges, to abstain from dispossessing the people from their rightful property and from levying any forbidden cess (*abwab*).'[1]

4. *The Kotwal*: The *kotwal* was the most important of the local officers. He was a man of all work, from the inspection of prisoners to the observance of the *Ilahi* era and the various festivals by the people; from the maintenance of the safety of the roads to the regulation of the markets; from the inspection of weights and measures to the prevention of vice, and even wasteful extravagance by private individuals, 'because when a man spends in excess of his income it is certain that he is doing something wrong.' He was also charged to keep census of the houses and inhabitants in his jurisdiction, to keep an eye over visitors and foreigners coming in and going out, to maintain a body of informers to keep in touch with the daily and hourly happenings, etc, etc. No wonder, therefore, Abu-l Fazl lays down—'The appropriate person for this office should be vigorous, experienced, active, deliberate, patient, astute, and humane. His duties are thus described in the *Ain-i-Akbari*:—

'Through his watchfulness and night-petrolling the citizens should enjoy the repose of security, and the evil-disposed

1. Ibid., pp. 63-65.

lie in the slough of non-existence. He should keep a register of houses, and frequented roads, and engage the citizens in a pledge of reciprocal assistance, and bind them to a common participation of weal and woe. He should form a quarter by the union of a certain number of habitations, and name one of his intelligent subordinates for its superintendence and receive a daily report under his seal of those who enter or leave it, and of whatever events therein occur. And he should appoint as a spy one among the obscure residents with whom the other should have no acquaintance, and keeping their reports in writing, employ a heedful scrutiny . . . . He should minutely observe the income and expenditure of the various classes of men and *by a refined address, make his vigilance reflect honour on his administration.* Of every guild of artificers, he should name one as guild-master, and another as broker, by whose intelligence the business of purchase and sale should be conducted. From these he should require frequent reports. When the night is a little advanced, he should prohibit people from entering or leaving the city. He should set the idle to some handicraft. . . . . He should discover thieves and the goods they have stolen or be responsible for the loss. He should so direct that no one shall demand a tax or cess save on arms, elephants, horses, cattle, camels, sheep, goats and merchandise. In every *subah* a slight impost shall be levied at an appointed place. Old coins should be given in to be melted down or consigned to the treasury as bullion. He should suffer no alteration in the value of the gold and silver coin of the realm, and its diminution by wear in circulation he shall recover to the value of the deficiency. *He should use his discretion in the reduction of prices and not allow purchases to be made outside the city.* The rich shall not take beyond what is necessary for their consumption. He shall examine the weights and make the *ser* not more nor less than 30 *dams*. In the *gaz* . . . . . he should permit neither decrease nor increase, and *restrain the people from the making, the dispensing, the buying or selling of wine, but refrain from invading the privacy of domestic life.* Of the property of a deceased or missing person who may have no

heir, he shall take an inventory and keep it in his care. He should reserve separate ferries and wells for men and women. He should appoint persons of respectable character to supply the public water-courses; and prohibit women from riding on horseback. *He should direct that no ox or buffalo or horse, or camel be slaughtered,* and *forbid the restriction of personal liberty and the selling of slaves. He should not suffer a woman to be burnt against her inclination, nor a criminal deserving of death, to be impaled,* nor any one to be circumcised under the age of twelve, etc., etc.[1]

5. *News Reporters*: There were four kinds of news-reporters: (i) the *wakai-navis*; (ii) the *sawanih-nigar*; (iii) the *khufia-navis*; and (iv) the *harkarah*. The first was the regular reporter posted with the army, in the provinces, and in all the towns; the latter were appointed, either occasionally or regularly, to make sure that the *wakai-navises* sent correct news. The news letters were sent to the *darogha-dakchauki*, i. e., Superintendent of Posts and Intelligence, who handed them unopened to the *Wazir* to be placed before the Emperor. 'These four classes of public intelligencers acted under the orders of this *Darogha* who was their official superior and protector. Sometimes an irate governor would publicly insult or beat the local news-writer for a report against himself and then the *Darogha* would take up the cause of his subordinate, and get the offending governor punished.'[2] The arrangement was that '*wakai* should be sent once a week, *sawanih* twice, and the *akhbar* of *harkarahs* once (? a month) and the despatches in cylinders *(nalo)* from the *nazim* and the *diwan* twice every month, in addition to urgent matters (which are to be reported immediately).'[3]

6. *Revenue Collectors*: (i) The *Krori* or 'collector of State dues' was the real collector of revenue. The arrangement was first introduced by Akbar (*Ain.*, i, p. 13), and signified an officer in charge of a district which was

1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, ii, pp. 41-3.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 71.
3. Ibid., p. 75.

expected to yield a revenue of one *Kror* of *Dam* (2½ lakhs of rupees). Later on the name was applied even to other collectors of state dues like the *kroris* of *ganj* or collectors of markets. The *sanad* of appointment read :—

'Collect the revenue season by season as assessed by the *amin*, and pay it to the *fotadar*. With the advice of the *faujdar* and *amin*, carefully deposit the money in the Imperial treasury, giving a receipt for it to the *fotahdar*. Send to the Government Record Office your abstract of accounts and statements of income and disbursements and other papers, as laid down in the regulations.' The regulations were :—

'The *krori* ought to entertain a body of militia *(sehbandi)* proportionate to his jurisdiction and collect the revenue without negligence and at the right time. He should not demand *mahsul* (the state due in cash or kind) from places not yet capable of paying, lest their ryots should run away. *He should urge his subordinates not to realise anything in excess of the regulations*, lest he should in the end be subject to *wasilat* (examination of accounts with a view to detect peculation). He should be honest. (*Manual*, p. 66)'[1]

(ii) *The Amin and the Qanungo:* The *Amin*, as his name implies, was an umpire between the State demanding revenue and the individual *ryot* paying the same. According to the *Manual of the Duties of Officers* 'The *amin's* work is to cause the kingdom to be cultivated. Before the season of cultivation, he should take from the *qanungoes* the preceding ten years' papers of the revenue assessment and area of the villages, ride to the villages in company with the *kroris*, *chaudharis*, *qanungoes* and *zamindars*, inquire into the condition of the villages, as regards their (culturable) area and the actual number of ploughs, compare the area given in the papers of the *qanungo* with the real area, and if the two do not agree, call upon the *qanungo* to explain, and censure the headmen (in the case of shortage)...... Then enquire whether the existing ploughs are sufficient for the cultivators of the village. If not, then grant *taqavi* (agricultural loans),

1. Ibid., p. 86.

.... for the purchase of oxen and seeds, taking bonds from the headmen for the recovery of the loan with the first instalment of the next year's revenue, and indemnity-bonds from the *kroris* that they would realise the loan with the first instalment of the next year.'

The *Qanungo* was the living dictionary of the *qanun* or regulations regarding land. He kept registers of the value, tenure, extent, and transfers of lands, reporting deaths and successions of revenue-payers, and explaining when required, local practices and public regulations. The *Manual* states, 'The Emperor's business goes on in reliance on your papers. To your office belong the papers of division, comparison, etc. ...... Keep two copies of the records,—one in your house and the other in your office (in charge of your *gumshtah*) so that one at least may be saved in case of fire or flood.'[1]

Fifteen Subahs.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* relates, 'In the fortieth year of the Divine Era, His Majesty's dominions consisted of one hundred and five *Sarkars* (divisions of a *Subah* subdivided into 2737 townships). When the ten years' settlement (see below) of the revenue was made .... His Majesty apportioned the Empire into twelve divisions, to each of which he gave the name of *Subah* and distinguished them by the appellation of the tract of country or its capital city. These were Allahabad, Agra, Oudh, Ajmer, Ahmadabad, Bihar, Bengal, Delhi, Kabul, Lahore, Multan, Malwa: and when Berar, Khandesh, and Ahmadnagar were conquered, their number was fixed at fifteen.' This is followed by a detailed description of the provinces, their boundaries, administration products, etc.

III. AKBAR'S REVENUE SYSTEM

Land Revenue was the principal source of income to the Empire. The other sources of Imperial revenue were customs, mint, inheritance, presents, monopolies, and indemnities. Its total, according to the *Ain.*, amounted to 363 *krors* of *dams*;

1. Ibid., pp. 87-9.

the land-revenue alone (from the 12 *subahs* in 1579–80) was Rs. 90,744,000. Different systems obtained in different parts of the country before Akbar's conquest. Akbar's policy was directed towards reducing these to a common system. The task was a very difficult one. In 1570–71 Muzaffar Khan Turbati and Raja Todar Mal were asked to revise the land-revenue assessments according to estimates framed by local *qanungoes*, and checked by ten officers at the head-quarters. "Thus, for the first time since the establishment of the Mughal power, was the local knowledge of the old hereditary revenue officials employed in determining the amount of the State demand."[1] In 1573, Todar Mal made his famous systematic survey of all the lands in Gujarat, which became the basis of his later reforms known as Todar Mal's *Bandobast*. "There is no name in medieval history," says Lane-Poole, "more renowned in India to the present day than that of Todar Mal, and the reason is that nothing in Akbar's reforms more nearly touched the welfare of the people than the great financier's reconstruction of the revenue system."[2] Two years later, in 1575–6, with the exception of Bengal, Bihar, and Gujarat, a fresh survey was carried out, and the Empire was divided into 182 equal fiscal units each roughly yielding a revenue of a *kror* of *tankas* (?) or Rs. 250,000. Such a unit was made the charge of an officer called the *krori*, described above. This artificial system was too mathematically perfect to succeed in practice, and had soon to be discarded. Consequently, a fresh attempt at reform was made in 1579–80. This resulted in the division of the Empire into the 12 *subahs* already referred to, and the introduction of the ten-years' settlement. The history of these reforms is thus given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* :—

Todar Mal's *Bandobast*.

'When Khwajah Abdul Majid Asaf Khan was raised to the dignity of Prime Minister, the total revenue was taken at an estimation, and the assignments were increased as the caprice of the moment suggested. And because at that time

1. Edwardes and Garrett, *Mughal Rule in India*, p. 198.
2. Lane-Poole, *Medieval India*, p. 261.

the extent of the Empire was small, and there was a constant increase of dignities among the servants of the State, the variations were contingent on the extent of corruption and self-interest. When this great office devolved on Muzaffar Khan and Raja Todar Mal, in the 15th year of the reign, a redistribution of the Imperial assessment was made through the *qanungoes*, and estimating the produce of the lands they made a fresh settlement. Ten *qanungoes* were appointed who collected the accounts from the provincial *qanungoes* and lodged them in the Imperial exchequer. Although this settlement was somewhat less than the preceding one, nevertheless there had been formerly a wide discrepancy between the estimates and the receipts.

'When through the prudent management of the Sovereign the Empire was enlarged in extent, it became difficult to ascertain each year the prices current and much inconvenience was caused by the delay. On the one hand, the husbandman complained of extensive exactions, and, on the other, the holder of assigned lands was aggrieved on account of the revenue balances. His Majesty devised a remedy for these evils and in the discernment of his world-adorning mind fixed a settlement for ten years: the people were thus made contented and their gratitude was abundantly manifested. From the beginning of the 15th year of the divine era to the 24th, an aggregate of the rates of collection was formed and a tenth of the total was fixed as the annual assessment; but from the 20th to the 24th year the collections were accurately determined and the five former ones accepted on the authority of persons of probity. The best crops were taken into account in each year and the year of the most abundant harvest accepted.'

This measurement of land was preceded by a reform of the units of measurement; the *gaz*, the *tanab* and the *bhiga*, were set and defined.[1] 'When His Majesty had determined the *gaz*, the *tanab*, and the *bhiga*, in his profound sagacity he

1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, ii, pp. 58-62.

classified the lands and fixed a different revenue to be paid by each.

'*Polaj* is land which is annually cultivated for each crop in succession and is never allowed to lie fallow. *Parauti* is land left out of cultivation for a time that it may recover its strength. *Chachar* is land that has lain fallow for three or four years. *Banjar* is land uncultivated for five years and more.

'Of the two first kinds of land, there are three classes, good, middling and bad. They add together the produce of each sort, and a third of this represents the medium produce, one-third part of which is exacted as the royal dues. The revenue levied by Sher Khan, *which at the present day is represented in all provinces as the lowest rate of assessment*, generally obtained, and for the convenience of the cultivators and the soldiery, the value was taken in ready money..........

'His Majesty in his wisdom thus regulated the revenues in the above-mentioned favourable manner. He reduced the duty on manufactures from ten to five per cent. and two per cent. was divided between the *patwari* and the *qanungo*......... Many imposts, equal in amount to the income of Hindustan were remitted by His Majesty as a thanks-offering to the Almighty. Among these were the following:—

'The capitation tax, the port duties, the pilgrim tax, the tax on various classes of artificers, *Darogha*'s fees, *Tahasildar's* fees, market duties, passports, fees on the sale and purchase of a house, on salt made from nitrous earth,.........in fine all those imposts which the natives of Hindustan include under the term *Sair Jihat*, were remitted.

'When either from excessive rain or through an inundation, the land falls out of cultivation, the husbandmen are, at first, in considerable distress. In the first year therefore but two-fifths of the produce is taken: in the second three-fifths: in the third four-fifths: and in the fifth the ordinary revenue. According to differences of situation the revenue is paid either in money or in kind. In the third year the

charges of 5 per cent. and one *dam* for each *bhiga* are added.'[1]

IV. THE ARMY AND ADMIRALTY

We have stated above that the salaries of almost all important officers of the Empire were disbursed by the *Bakshi* or Pay-Master General of the Army. They were all enrolled, whatever the nature of their actual duties, as military officers; and their status and emoluments were calculated in terms of the military contingents under them. "Though on several occasions," observes Prof. Sarkar, "we have officers invested with the title of *sipah-salar* or 'commander of troops,' it was only a mark of honour and they did not command the entire Mughal army. The Emperor was the only Commander-in-Chief."[2]

Abu-l Fazl thus refers to the organisation of the Imperial army:

'His Majesty guides the Imperial army by his excellent advice and counsel, and checks in various ways attempts at insubordination. He has divided the army, on account of the multitude of the men, into several classes, and has thereby secured the peace of the country.[3] The principal grades of officers and classes of troops were (1) *Mansabdars*, (2) *Ahadis*, (3) *Dakhilis*, and (4) the Infantry.

1. *Mansabdars.* According to Abu-l Fazl, the Emperor appointed the *Mansabdars* 'from the *Dabhashi* (commander of ten) to the *Dah Hazari* (commander of ten thousand), limiting, however, all commands above 5000, to his august sons (or nobles of the highest rank) . . . . . .

'The monthly grants made to the *Mansabdars* varied according to the condition of their contingents. An officer whose contingent came up to his *mansab*, was put into the First Class of his rank; if his contingent was one half and upwards

1. Ibid., pp. 62-7.
2. Sarkar, op cit., p. 25.
3. *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 231.

of his fixed number, he was put into the Second Class; the Third Class contained those contingents which were still less.' Their salaries were as follows :—

Rank : Commanders of —	Monthly Salary in Rupees.		
	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.
10,000	60,000	— —	— —
5,000	30,000	29,000	28,000
1,000	8,200	8,100	· 8,000
500	2,500	2,300	2,100
100	700	600	500
10	100	82½	75

These salaries included also the expenses of the contingents maintained by each *Mansabdar*. But, as pointed out above, few *Mansabdars* actually maintained the full complement indicating their rank. A commander of 100, if he had his full establishment, had to spend Rs. 313; one of 1,000, Rs. 3015½ ; and of 5,000, Rs. 10,637.

The higher *Mansabdars* were mostly Governors of *Subahs*. They were at first called *Sipahsalars ;* towards the end of Akbar's reign they were known as *Hakims* and afterwards, *Sahib Subah* or *Subahdar*, and still later merely *Subah*. The other *Mansabdars* held *jagirs* which after Akbar frequently changed hands.

The contingents of the *Mansabdars* formed the greater part of the army, and were inspected from time to time. They were paid from the central or the local treasuries. Badauni states : 'Shahbaz Khan, the *Mir Bakshi*, introduced the custom and rule of the *dagh o mahalli* (branding of animals), which had been the rule of Alau-d din Khilji and afterwards the law under Sher Shah. It was settled that every *Amir* should commence as a Commander of Twenty (*bisti*), and be ready with his followers to mount guard. . . . . . and when, according to the rule, he had brought the horses of his twenty troopers to be branded, he was then to be made a *Sadi*

or Commander of 100 or more. They were likewise to keep elephants, horses, and camels, in proportion to their *Mansab*, according to the same rule. When they had brought to the masters their new contingents complete, they were to be promoted according to their merits and circumstances to the post of *Hazari*, *Duhazari* and even *Panjhazari*, which is the highest *Mansab* (for other than Princes of the royal blood; Raja Man Singh, who held a *Mansab* of 7,000, was an exception); but if they did not do well at the musters they were to be put down.[1]

2. *Ahadis*.—'There were many brave and worthy persons,' says Abu-l Fazl, 'whom His Majesty does not appoint to a *mansab*, but whom he frees from being under the orders of any one. Such persons belong to the immediate servants of His Majesty, and are dignified by their independence. They go through the school of learning their duties, and have their knowledge tested. These were the *Ahadis*.

'For the sake of the convenience of the *Ahadis*, a separate *Diwan* and a pay-master are appointed, and one of the great *Amirs* is their chief......Many *Ahadis* have indeed more than Rs. 500 per mensem.........In the beginning, when their rank was first established, some *Ahadis* mustered eight horses; but now the limit is five.........*Ahadis* are mustered every four months, when on a certificate signed by the *Diwan* and the *Bakshi*, which is called now-a-days *Tahchihah*, the clerk of the treasury writes out a receipt, to be counter-signed by the principal grandees. This the treasurer keeps and pays the claim.........On joining the service, an *Ahadi* generally finds his own horse; but afterwards gets it from the Government. ......Those who are in want of horses, are continually taken before His Majesty, who gives away many horses as presents or as part of the pay, one half being reckoned as grant, and the other half being deducted in four instalments at the subsequent four musters; or, if the *Ahadi* be in debt, in eight instalments.'[2]

1. Ibid., pp. 236-47.
2. Ibid., pp. 249-50.

3. *Dakhili.*—' A fixed number of troops are handed over to the *Mansabdars*; but they are paid by the State. His Majesty has ordered to designate these infantry soldiers in the descriptive rolls as *nimah suwaran*, or half troopers.

'The fourth part of *Dakhili* troops are matchlock-bearers; the others carry bows.

'Carpenters, workers in iron, water-carriers, pioneers, belong to this class.'[1]

4. *Infantry.*— 'They are of various kinds, and perform remarkable duties. His Majesty has made suitable regulations for their several ranks, and guides great and small in the most satisfactory manner.

'The *First Class* gets 500 *dams*; the *Second*, 400 *dams*; the *Third*, 300 *dams*; the *Fourth*, 240 *dams* (Re. 1 = 40 *dams*.)

'There are 12,000 Imperial matchlock-bearers. Attached to this service is an experienced *Bitikchi*, an honest treasurer and an active *Darogah*. A few *bandugchis* are selected for these offices; the others hold the following ranks:—

'Some are distinguished by their experience and zeal and are therefore appointed over a certain number of others, so that uniformity may pervade the whole, and the duties be performed with propriety and understanding. The pay of these (non-commissioned) officers is of four grades, *First*, 300 *dams*; *Second*, 280 *dams*; *Third*, 270 *dams*; *Fourth*, 260 *dams*.

'Common *bandugchis* are divided into five classes, and each class into three sub-divisions. *First Class*, 250, 240 and 230 *dams*. *Second Class*, 220, 210, 200 *dams*. *Third Class*, 190, 180, and 170 *dams*. *Fourth Class*, 160, 150, and 140 *dams*. *Fifth Class*, 130, 120, and 110 *dams*.'

Besides these regular troops there were a number of miscellaneous camp-followers like the runners, wrestlers, and *Palki-bearers*. About the last the *Ain.* says, 'They form a class of foot-servants peculiar to India. They carry heavy loads on their shoulders, and travel through mountains and valleys. With their *Palkis*, *singhasans*, *chaudols*, and *dulis*, they walk so evenly, that the man inside is not inconvenienced

1. Ibid., p. 254.

by any jolting.[1] There are many in this country, but the best came from the Dakhin and Bengal......The pay of a head bearer varies from 192 to 384 *dams*. Common bearers get from 120 to 160 *dams*.'[2]

Army Regulations.

'When His Majesty had fixed the ranks of the army, and enquired into the quality of the horses,[3] he ordered that upright *Bitikchis* should make out descriptive rolls of the soldiers and write down their peculiar marks. Their ages, the names of their fathers, dwelling-places, and race, were to be registered. A *Darogha* also was appointed whose duty it was to see that the men were not unnecessarily detained. They were to perform their duties without taking bribes or asking for remunerations ....

'His Majesty has also appointed five experienced officers who have to look after the condition of the men, their horses, and the stipulated amount of pay.'

Various signs were used for branding horses. 'At last, numerals were introduced, which plan best frustrates fraudulent practices. They make iron numerals, by which all indistinctness is avoided. These new signs are likewise put on the right thigh......The carefulness with which the system of marking horses was attended to, resulted at once in truthful reports regarding dead horses .... Horses answering the description in the rolls were even hired, and substituted for the old ones; but as the mark was not forthcoming, the deception was detected, and the soldiers thus learnt to be honest ......

'The Imperial army has been divided into twelve parts each of which mounts guard for the space of one month. This gives all troops, whether near or far, an opportunity to

1. Cf. Gaily O gaily we glide and we sing.
We bear her along like a pearl on a string.—
Sarojini Naidu, *Palanquin-Bearers*.

2. *Ain-i Akbari*, I, pp. 251–54.

3. 'They have been divided into seven classes. The rate of their daily food has also been fixed. These seven classes are *Arabs, Persian horses, Mujannas, Turki horses, Yabus, Tazis*, and *Janglah* horses.'—Ibid., Ain 2. *On the Animals of the Army*, pp. 233–36.

come to Court and to partake of the liberality of His Majesty. But those who are stationed at the frontiers, or told off for any important duty, merely send in reports of their exact condition, and continue to perform His Majesty's special orders. On the first of every solar month, the guards are drawn up to salute His Majesty, as is usual on weekly parades, and are then distinguished by royal marks of favour.

'The Imperial army has also been divided into twelve other divisions, each of which is selected in turn, to come to Court for one year and do duty near the person of His Majesty.

'His Majesty generally inspects the guards himself, and takes notice of the presence or absence of the soldiers . . . If His Majesty is prevented by more important affairs from attending, one of the Princes is ordered to inspect the guards. From predilection and a desire to teach soldiers their duties as also from a regard to general efficiency, His Majesty pays attention to the guards. If any one is absent without having a proper excuse, or from laziness, he is fined one week's pay, or receives a suitable reprimand.'[1]

The Arsenal.

'The order of the Household, the efficiency of the Army, and the welfare of the country, are intimately connected with the state of this department; hence His Majesty gives it every attention, and looks scrutinizingly into its working order. He introduces all sorts of new methods, and studies their applicability to practical purposes.'[2]

'Guns are wonderful locks for protecting the august edifice of the State; and befitting keys for the door of conquest. With the exception of Turkey, there is perhaps no country which in its guns has more means of securing the Government than this. There are now-a-days guns made of such a size that the ball weighs 12 *mans*; several elephants and a thousand cattle are required to transport one. His Majesty looks upon the care bestowed on the efficiency of this branch as one of the higher objects of a King, and devotes to

1. Ibid., pp. 255-58.
2. Ibid., p. 109.

it much of his time. *Darogahs* and clever clerks are appointed, to keep the whole in proper working order . . . . .

'The Imperial guns are carefully distributed over the whole kingdom, and each *Subah* has that kind which is fit for it; for the siege of fortresses and for naval engagements, His Majesty has separate guns made, which accompany his victorious armies on their marches . . . .

'*Amirs* and *Ahadis* are on staff employ in this branch. The pay of the foot varies from 100 to 400 *dams*.

'Matchlocks are now made so strong, that they do not burst, though let off when filled to the top. Formerly they could not fill them to more than a quarter. Besides, they made them with the hammer and the anvil by flattening pieces of iron, and joining the flattened edges of both sides. Some left them, from foresight, on one side open; but numerous accidents were the results, especially in the former kind. His Majesty has invented an excellent method of construction: They flatten iron, and twist it round obliquely in the form of a roll, so that the folds get longer at every twist; then they join the folds, not edge to edge, but, so as to allow them to lie one over the other, and heat them gradually in the fire. They also take cylindrical pieces of iron, and pierce them when hot with an iron pin. Three or four of such pieces make one gun; or, in the case of smaller ones, two. Guns are often made of a length of two yards; those of a smaller kind are one and a quarter yards long . . . . Bullets are also made so as to cut like a sword . . . . Several things are marked on every matchlock, *viz.*, the weight of the raw and the manufactured iron; the place where the iron is taken from; the workman; the place where the gun is made; the date; its number . . . . .

'Formerly a strong man had to work a long time with iron instruments, in order to clean matchlocks. His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has invented a wheel, by the motion of which sixteen barrels may be cleaned in a very short time. The wheel is turned by a cow.'[1]

1. Ibid., pp. 112-15.

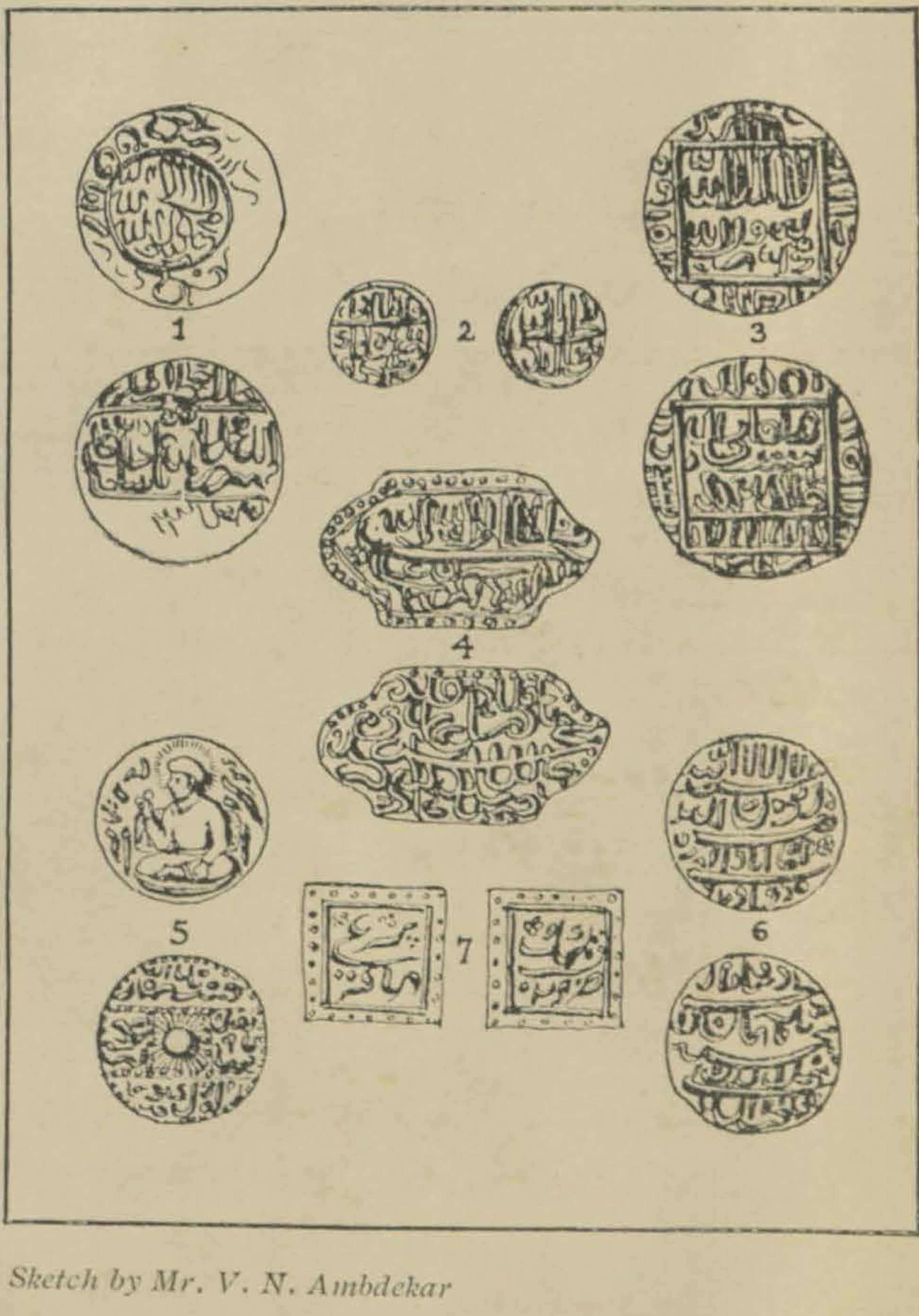
'This department is of great use for the successful operations of the army, and for the benefit of the country in general; it furnishes means of obtaining things of value, provides for agriculture, and His Majesty's household. His Majesty, in fostering the source of power, keeps four objects in view, and looks upon promoting the efficiency of this department as an act of divine worship.

The Admiralty.

'*Firstly.*—The fitting out of strong boats, capable of carrying elephants. Some are made in such a manner as to be of use in sieges and for the conquest of strong forts. Experienced officers look upon ships as if they were houses and dromedaries, and use them as excellent means of conquest. So especially in Turkey, Zanzibar, and Europe. In every part of His Majesty's Empire, ships are numerous; but in Bengal, Kashmir, and T'hat'ha (Sind) they are the pivot of all commerce.... Along with the coast of the ocean, in the west, east, and south of India, large ships are built, which are suitable for voyages. The harbours have been put into excellent condition, and the experience of seamen has much improved. Large ships are also built at Ilāhābās and Lāhor, and are then sent to the coast.

'*Secondly.*—To appoint experienced seamen, acquainted with the tides, the depths of the ocean, the time when the several winds blow, and their advantages and disadvantages. They must be familiar with shallows and banks. Besides, a seaman must be hale and strong, a good swimmer, kind-hearted, hard-working, capable of bearing fatigue, patient, in fact he must possess all good qualities. Men of such character can only be found after much trouble. The best seamen come from Malibar (Malabar).

'*Thirdly.*—An experienced man has been appointed to look after the rivers...As he possesses experience, he settles every difficulty which arises regarding fords, and takes care that such places are not overcrowded, or too narrow, or very uneven, or full of mud. He regulates the number of passengers that a ferry-boat may carry; he must not allow travellers to be delayed, and *sees that poor people are passed over gratis.* He ought not to allow people to swim across, or wares to be



Sketch by Mr. V. N. Ambdekar

COINS OF THE EMPIRE

KEY TO COINS OF THE EMPIRE.*

1. BABAR:

Obv.—in circle the *kalimah*; margin, in segments portions of

ابابکر الصدیق

("Aba Bekr, the faithful servant")

عمرو الفاروق

("Umar, the discriminator between right and wrong")

عثمان ابو نورین

("Uṭhman, the father of two lights")

علی المرتضیٰ

("Ali, the pleasing to God").

Rev.—within flattened *mihrābi* area,

ظهیرالدین محمد بابر بادشاه غازی ۹۳۶

above

السلطان الاعظم الخاقان المکرم

("The most great Sultān, the illustrious Emperor.")

below

خلدالله تعالیٰ ملکه و سلطنته

("May God Most High perpetuate the kingdom and sovereignty") and

ضرب لاهور

("Struck at Lahore.")

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* Prepared with the kind assistance of my colleague Prof. B. D. Verma, M.A., M.F., A.F.—AUTHOR.

2. HUMAYUN:

Obv.—in circle, the *kalimah.*

Rev.—خلد الله تعالیٰ ملکه .... محمد همایون بادشاه غازی

("May God Most High perpetuate his kingdom .... Muhammad Humāyūn Bādshāh Ghāzi.")

3. SHER SHAH:

Obv.—in square, the *kalimah*; margins as on No. 1 *Rev.*, in square

شیر شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه ۹۴۸

("Sultan Sher Shah, may God Most High perpetuate his kingdom. 948 A.H.")

below in Nāgari: *Srī Sēr Sāhi* (an attempt at Sher Shah's name) margins:—

السلطان العادل ابو المظفر

("The just Sultan, the father of the victorious".)

فرید الدین ضرب آگره

Farid-uddin. Struck at Agra.

4. AKBAR:

Obv.—in dotted border, the *kalimah.* Names of the four companions of the Prophet, and 981.

Rev.— خلد ملکه جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی ضرب بلدة آگره

("May God perpetuate his kingdom, Jalal-uddin Muhammad Akbar Bādshāh Ghazi. Struck at Āgra town.")

5. Jahángir:

Obv.—Jahāngir, nimbate, seated cross-legged on throne head to left, goblet in right hand.

Around

قضا بر سکۂ زر کرد تصویر

شبیه حضرت شاه جهانگیر

" Destiny on coin of gold has drawn the portrait of His Majesty Shāh Jahāngir.")

Rev.—sun in square compartment in centre; to left

ضرب اجمیر ۱۰۲۳

" Struck at Ajmer 1023."

To right یا معین

(" O thou fixed one ")

and سنه ۹

(" Year 9 ")

above and below

حروف جهانگیر و الله اکبر

ز روز ازل در عدد شد برابر

The letters of Jahangir and *Allah-u-Akbar* are equal in value from the beginning of time.")

6. Shah Jahan:

6. *Obv.*—the *kalimah*, in 3 lines;

below

ضرب احمد آباد سنه ۲ الهی ماه خورداد

(" Struck at Ahmadābād in the month Khurdād of the *Ilāhi* year 2.")

Rev.— صاحب قران ثانی

شهاب الدین محمد

شاهجهان بادشاه غازی

سنه ۱۰۳۸

("The second Sāhib-i-Qirān, Shihab-ud-din Muhammad Shāh Jahan Badshah Ghāzi, year 1038.")

7. AURANGZEB:

Obv.— سکه زد بر جهان چو مهر منیر

شاه اورنگ زیب عالم گیر ۱۰۷۲

("Struck money through the world like the shining sun, Shāh Aurangzeb Ālamgīr.")

Rev.— ضرب تته سنه ۵ جلوس

میمنت مانوس

("Struck at Tatta in the 5th year of the accession associated with auspiciousness").

deposited anywhere else but at fording places. He should also prevent people from crossing at night unless in cases of necessity.

'*Fourthly.*—The remission of duties. His Majesty, in his mercy, has remitted many tolls, though the income derived from them equalled the revenue of a whole country. He only wishes that boatmen should get their wages. The State takes certain taxes in harbour places; but they never exceed 2½ per cent., which is so little compared with the taxes formerly levied, and merchants look upon harbour taxes as totally remitted.

'The following sums are levied as river tolls:—For every boat Re 1 per *kos*, at the rate of 1000 *mans*, provided the boat and the men belong to one and the same owner. But if the boat belongs to another man and everything in the boat to the man who has hired it, the tax is Re 1 for every 2½ *kos*. At ferry places, an elephant has to pay 10*d.* for crossing; a laden cart, 4*d.*; same, empty, 2*d.*; a laden camel, 1*d.*; empty camels, horses, cattle with their things, 1½*d.*! same, empty, ¼*d.* Other beasts of burden pay 1/16 *d.*; which includes the toll due by the driver. Twenty people pay 1*d.* for crossing; but they are often taken gratis.

'The rule is that one-half or one-third of the tolls thus collected go to the state (the rest to the boatmen).

'Merchants are therefore well treated, and the articles of foreign countries are imported in large quantities.'[1]

V. THE IMPERIAL MINT

To complete this brief survey of Akbar's administration we might add one more extract from the *Ain-i-Akbari*, about the Imperial Mint.

'As the successful working of the Mint,' writes Abu-l Fazl, 'increases the treasure, and is the source of despatch for every department, I shall mention a few details .... The success of this department lies in the appointment of intelli-

1. Ibid., pp. 279-82.

gent, zealous and upright workmen, and the edifice of the world is built upon their attention and carefulness. Only two officers of this department are mentioned by Abu-l Fazl, viz., the *Darogah* and the *Shirafi.*[1] He also gives the description of the following coins :—

A. Gold Coins.

'1. The *S'hansah* is a round coin weighing 101 *tolahs* 9 *mashahs*, and 7 *surkhs*, in value equal to 100 *la'li jalali-muhurs*. On the field of one side is engraved the name of His Majesty, and on the five arches in the border,—the great Sultan, the distinguished Emperor, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign! Struck at the capital Agra.' On the reverse is the *beautiful formula (Kalimah)* and the following verse of the Qoran: "God is bountiful unto whom he pleaseth, without measure ; and round about are the names of the first four Califs."[2]

2. There is another gold coin, of the same name and shape, weighing 91 *tolahs* and 8 *Mashahs*, in value equal to 100 *round muhurs*, at 11 *Mashahs* each. It has the same impression as the preceding.

3. The *Rahas* is the half of each of the two preceding coins. It is sometimes made square.

4. The *A'tmah* is the fourth part of the *s'hansah*, round and square.

5. The *Binsat*, of the same two forms as the *atmah*, in value equal to one-fifth of the first coin.

There are also gold coins of the same shape and impression equal to one-eighth, one-tenth, one-twentieth, one-twenty-fifth of the *s'hansah*.

6. The *Chugul* (or *Jugul*), of a square form, in the fiftieth part of the *s'hansah*, in value equal to two *muhurs*.'

The description of twenty other gold coins follows. Then the *Ain* states, ' As regards gold coins, the custom followed in the Imperial Mint is to coin *La'li Jalalis*, *D'hans* and *Mans*, each coin for the space of a month. The other gold coins

1. Ibid., pp. 16-18.

2. For alterations of these ' coin-legends' later in Akbar's reign see ibid., pp. 27-8.

are never stamped without special orders.' The first of these is 10th in Abu-l Fazl's list, and is said to be of the same weight and value as the *Ilahi* (12 *mashas*, $1\frac{3}{4}$ *surkhs* = Rs. 10). The second was half, and the third one-fourth of the *jalali*.

B. Silver Coins.

'1. The *Rupee* is round, and weighs $11\frac{1}{2}$ *mashahs*. It was first introduced in the time of Sher Khan. It was perfected during this reign, and received a new stamp, one side "*Allahu Akbar, jalla jallaluhu*," and on the other the date. *Although the market price is sometimes more or less than 40 dams, yet this value is always set upon it in the payment of salaries.*

2. The *Jalalah* is of a square form, which was introduced during the present reign. In value and stamp it is the same as No. 1.

3. The *Darb* is half a *Jalalah*.

4. The *Charn* is a quarter *Jalalah*.

5. The *Pandan* is a fifth of the *Jalalah*.

6. The *Asht* in the eighth part of the *Jalalah*.

7. The *Dasa* is one-tenth of the *Jalalah*.

8. The *Kala* is the sixteenth part of the *Jalalah*.

9. The *Suki* is one-twentieth of the *Jalalah*.

'The same fractional parts are adopted for the [round] *Rupee*, which are however different in form.

C. Copper Coins.

1. The *Dam* weighs 5 *tanks*, *i.e.*, 1 *tolah*, 8 *mashahs*, and 7 *surkhs*; it is the fortieth part of the rupee. At first this coin was called *Paisah*, and also *Bahloli*; now it is known under this name (*dam*). On one side the place where it was struck is given, and on the other the date.

For the purpose of calculation, the *dam* is divided into 25 parts, each of which is called a *jetal*. This imaginary division is used only by accountants.

2. The *Adhelah* is half of a *dam*.

3. The *Paulah* is a quarter *dam*.

4. The *Damri* is one-eighth of a *dam*.'

Note.—'In the beginning of this reign, gold was coined... in many parts of the Empire; now gold coins are struck at

four places only, *viz.*, at the seat of the government, in Bengal, Ahmedabad, and Kabul. Silver and copper are likewise coined at these places, and at—Ilahabas, Agrah, Ujain, Surat, Dilli, Patna, Kashmir, Lahor, Multan, Tandah. In twenty-eight towns copper coins only are struck, viz., Ajmir Audh, Atak, Alwar, Badaon, Banaras, Bhakkar, Bahrah, Patan, Jaunpur, Jalandhar, Hardwar, Hisar Firuzah, Kalpi, Gwalior, Gorakhpur, Kalanwar, Lakhnau, Mandu, Nagor, Sirhind, Siyalkot, Saronj, Saharanpur, Sarangpur, Sambal, Qanauj, Rantambhur.

'Mercantile affairs in this country are mostly transacted in *round muhurs, rupees,* and *dams*.'[1]

Akbar's Treasures.

The Flemish writer De Laet (1593-1649) states: The wealth of this prince can be estimated: firstly, from the size of the territories which he controls (these form an Empire larger than that of Persia and equal to, if not greater than, that of Turkey); secondly, from the fact that no one in his Empire has any possessions at all except what he holds through the prince's liberality and at his pleasure, and that he himself inherits the property not only of all dead magnates, but also of inferior persons, taking for himself as much as he pleases of what they leave; and thirdly, from the immense gifts which are bestowed upon him every day not only by his subjects but also by foreign princes.[2] Although De Laet really wrote this of Jahangir, his statement is equally well applicable to Akbar. Further on he observes, on the death of 'Achabar, grandfather of the prince now reigning [Shah Jahan], his treasures were carefully counted, and were found to amount in all (including gold) silver and copper, both wrought and unwrought, together with jewels and all manners of household commodities to 34 carores, 82 lacks, and 26,386 rupees (*i. e.*, to Rs. 348,226,386$\frac{3}{4}$): of this total Rs. 198,346, 666$\frac{3}{4}$ was in specie of all descriptions.'[3]

1. For more particulars about Akbar's coinage see ibid., pp. 27-37.
2. J. S. Hoyland, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, p. 107.
3. Ibid., pp. 107-9.

This treasure included, besides fine porcelain, cloth of gold from Persia, Turkey, Guzerat and Europe; muslins from Bengala, and woollen cloth from Europe, Persia, and Tartary; also books written by great authors, beautifully bound, to the number of 24,000, estimated at Rs. 6,463,731 in value,' etc., Prof. Banerjee, commenting upon this, writes, "The inventory of the treasure of Akbar is an unique contribution of De Laet. It agrees with the later accounts of Mandelslo (1638) and Manrique (1649) . . . . The total comes to 40 millions. The purchasing power of money was six times greater than the pre-war rate, say, in 1914. In other words, the total brings us to the huge figure of £240 million sterling. Henry VII (who died in 1509) left £1,800,000 in bullion and was considered rich. Henry VIII debased the coinage, and Elizabeth left behind a debt of £ 400,000 and huge number of farthingales !"[1]

VI. SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS REFORMS

With all his genius for practical achievement, Akbar was essentially an idealist and a dreamer. In addition to his conquests and administrative organisation, described above, he also aimed at what Abu-l Fazl calls 'the reformation of the manners of the people.' Thus, while on the one hand, he forbade infanticide, *sati*, excessive indulgence in intoxicating drinks, cow-slaughter, etc., on the other, he encouraged widow remarriage, abolished the invidious pilgrim-tax *jiziya* and tried to cement the differences between the two main sections of his people Hindus and Muslims—by setting an example of intercommunal wedding, making no distinction of caste or creed in the conferment of high titles and offices, and above all, by attempting to establish a new faith which should be the harbinger of a new world: 'For an Empire ruled by one head,' Akbar rightly considered, 'it was a bad thing to have the members divided among themselves, and at variance one with the other . . . We ought, therefore, to bring them all into one, but in such a fashion that they should be *one* and *all*

1. Ibid., pp. 111-12.

with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion, while gaining whatever is better in another. *In that way honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the peoples, and security to the Empire*'.[1]

This glorious idealism of Akbar has been much misunderstood and misrepresented. Bartoli saw in it only Akbar's 'astute and knavish policy.' Even Vincent Smith speaks of "*The fit of religious frenzy* which assailed Akbar at the beginning of May 1578," "a symptom of the intense interest in the claims of rival religions which he manifested in 1578-79 prior to the signing of the infallibility decree in September of the latter year."[2] He further declares, "The Divine Faith was a *monument of Akbar's folly*, not of his wisdom . . . . The whole scheme was the outcome of ridiculous vanity, *a monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy*."[3] In view of this unrestrained criticism it is necessary to go into a detailed examination of Akbar's religious and social reforms.

Din-i Ilahi.

Far from being the 'monument of Akbar's folly,' the *Din-i-Ilahi*, as the new faith was called, was the crowning expression of the Emperor's national idealism. Akbar, at least in this respect, is not to be judged by the statements of the Jesuits alone. Being keenly disappointed in their expectations of converting the Emperor, these European missionaries became too prone to give credence to statements discrediting Akbar. To cite Badauni in confirmation of the Jesuits, is only to call two prejudiced witnesses instead of one. A fair judge ought to make sure, especially before jumping into a condemnation, that the witnesses themselves are above suspicion. We shall, therefore, consider accounts of the *Din-i-Ilahi* given by two rival witnesses, Abu-l Fazl and Badauni, and try to arrive at the truth on the merits of their evidence.

'Whenever, from lucky circumstances,' says Abu-l Fazl, 'the time arrives that a nation learns to understand how to worship truth, the people will naturally look to their King on

1. Ac. to Bartoli, cited by Smith, *Akbar*, pp. 211-12.
2. Ibid., p. 163.
3. Ibid., p. 222.

account of the high position which he occupies, and expect him to be their spiritual leader as well......A King will therefore sometimes observe the element of harmony in a multitude of things, or sometimes, reversely, a multitude of things in that which is apparently one; for he sits on the throne of distinction, and is thus equally removed from joy or sorrow. Now this is the case with the monarch of the present age (Akbar)......He now is the spiritual guide of the nation, and sees in the performance of this duty a means of pleasing God.'[1]

This was the outlook of the age, and, as we have pointed out in our Introduction, we are not to forget that elsewhere than in India, people had not outgrown the belief: *cujus regio ejus religio.* England looked to the Tudors to save the nation, and the Tudors expected the people to behave themselves. At least under Akbar there were no 'Smithfield fires', and the King did not seek to change the creed of a nation because he desired to get rid of an old wife in order to marry her chamber-maid!

Admitting the need for a national church, there is nothing ridiculous in conceiving a new ritual. Akbar declared himself the spiritual no less than the temporal head of the State; but he never forced on the people any Act of Supremacy or Uniformity. 'In the magnanimity of his heart, he never thinks of his perfection,' says Abu-l Fazl, 'though he is the ornament of the world......Notwithstanding every strictness and reluctance shewn by His Majesty in admitting novices, there are many thousands, men of all classes, who have cast over their shoulders the mantel of belief, and look upon their conversion to the New Faith as the means of obtaining every blessing . . .

'The members of the Divine Faith, on seeing each other, observe the following custom. One says "*Allahu Akbar*"; and the other responds, "*Jalla Jalaluhu*". The motive of His Majesty in laying down this mode of salutation is to remind men to think of the origin of their existence, and to keep the Deity in fresh, lively, and grateful remembrance.

1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, pp. 163–4.

'It is also ordered by His Majesty that, instead of the dinner usually given in remembrance of a man after his death, each member should prepare a dinner during his lifetime, and thus gather provisions for his last journey.

'Each member is to give a party on the anniversary of his birth-day, and arrange a sumptuous feast. He is to bestow alms, and thus prepare provisions for the long journey.

'His Majesty has also ordered that members should abstain from eating flesh. They may allow others to eat flesh, without touching it themselves ; but during the month of their birth they are not even to approach meat. Nor shall members go near anything that they have themselves slain ; nor eat of it. Neither shall they make use of the same vessels with butchers, fishers, and bird-catchers.

'Members should not cohabit with pregnant, old, and barren women ; nor with girls under the age of puberty.'[1]

Badauni's Comments.

Badauni was an uncompromising critic of Akbar's innovations. He was the very antithesis of Abu-l Fazl. He looked upon Akbar as one lost to Islam. "His historical work, entitled *Muntakhabut Tawârikh*," says Blochmann, "is much prized as written by an enemy of Akbar, whose character, in its grandeur and its failings, is much more prominent than in the *Akbarnamah*, or the *Tabaqât-i-Akbari* or the *Maāsiri Rahimi*. It is especially of value for the religious views of the Emperor, and contains interesting biographies of most famous men and poets of Akbar's time."[2]

'In this year (987-4.),' writes Badauni, 'His Majesty was anxious to unite in his person the powers of the State and those of the Church ; for he could not bear to be subordinate to any one. As he had heard that the Prophet, his lawful successors, and some of the most powerful Kings, as Amir Timur, and Mirza Ulugh Beg, and several others, had themselves read the *Khutbah* (the Friday prayer), he resolved to do the same, apparently in order to imitate their example, but in reality to appear in the public as the *Mujtahid* of the age.

1. Ibid., pp. 165-7.
2. Ibid., p. 104 n 2.

Accordingly, on Friday, the first Jumada-l awwal 987, in the Jami Masjid of Fathpur, which he had built-near the palace, His Majesty commenced to read the *Khutbah*.........These are the verses—

" The Lord has given me the Empire,
And a wise heart, and a strong arm,
He has guided me in righteousness and justice,
And has removed from my thoughts everything but justice.
His praise surpasses man's understanding,
Great is His power, Allāhu Akbar!"

'In the same year (987), a document made its appearance, which bore the signatures and seals of Makhdum-ul mulk of Sheikh Abdunnabi,......of Cadr Jahan, the *Mufti* of the Empire, of Sheikh Mubarik, the deepest writer of the age, and Ghazi Khan of Badakhshan, who stood unrivalled in the various sciences...........

THE DOCUMENT

" Whereas Hindustan has now become the centre of security and peace, and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers, have immigrated and chosen this country for their home. *Now we, the principal Ulamas, who are not only well-versed in the several departments of the law and in the principles of jurisprudence, and well-acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have duly considered* the deep meaning, *first* of the verse of Qorān (Sur. *IV*, 62.) :

'*Obey God and obey the Prophet, and those who have authority among you*,' and *secondly*, of the genuine tradition : '*Surely, the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgment, is the Imam i'Adil*; *whosoever obeys the Amir, obeys Me*; *and whosoever rebels against him, rebels against Me*,' and *thirdly*, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony ; and we have agreed that the rank of a *Sultan i'Adil* (a just ruler)

is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a *Mujtahid*. Further we declare that the King of Islam, Amir of the Faithful, Shadow of God in the world, *Abul Fath Jalāluddin Muhammad Akbar Padishāh Ghazi*, whose kingdom God perpetuate, is a most just, most wise, and a most God-fearing King. Should, therefore, in future, a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the *Mujtahids* are at variance, and His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom, be inclined to adopt, *for the benefit of the nation, and as a political expedient*, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point, and issue a decree to that effect, *we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.*

"Further, we declare that, should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, *provided always that such an order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Qoran but also of real benefit for the nation*; and further, that any opposition on the part of the subjects to such an order as passed by His Majesty, shall involve damnation in the world to come, and loss of religion and property in this life.

"This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God, and *the propagation of Islam, and is signed by us, the principal Ulamas and lawyers*; in the month of Rajab of the year 987 of the Hijrah."

Commenting on this, Badauni writes, 'No sooner had His Majesty obtained this legal instrument, than the road of deciding any religious question was open; *the superiority of intellect of the Imam was established, and opposition was rendered impossible. All orders regarding things which our law allows or disallows, were abolished, and the superiority of intellect of the Imam became law.*[1]

The gravamen of Badauni's charge against the innovators was their rejection of Islamic revelation, and their intellectuality. 'The Emperor examined people,' he says, 'about the creation of the Qoran, elicited their belief, or otherwise, in

1. Ibid., pp. 184–87.

revelation, and raised doubts in them regarding all things connected with the Prophet and the Imams. He distinctly denied the existence of Jins, of angels, and all other beings of the invisible world, as well as the miracles of the Prophet and the saints; he rejected the successive testimony of the witnesses of our Faith, the proof for the truths of the Qoran as far as they agree with man's reason, etc. Akbar had boldly declared, "Man's outward profession and the mere letter of Muhammadanism, without a heartfelt conviction, can avail nothing......To repeat the words of the Creed, to perform circumcision, or to lie prostrate on the ground from dread of kingly power, can avail nothing in the sight of God." (E. & D. op. cit., VI, pp. 60-61.)

In the eyes of Badauni this was unpardonable apostacy from the orthodox faith. From this moment onwards, he and the bigoted *mullas* began to execrate everything connected with the new faith; they had nothing but imprecations and invectives against every one connected therewith. Impotent orthodoxy raged and foamed; it raised the head of rebellion in 1581 and died away in futile discontent. We find it still simmering in the pages of the *Muntakhabut*:

'The poor (orthodox) Sheikhs who were, moreover, left to the mercies of Hindu Financial Secretaries, forgot in exile their spiritual soirées, and had no other place where to live, except mouseholes...........

'In this year (988) low and mean fellows, who pretended to be learned, but were in reality fools, collected evidences that His Majesty was the, *Cahib-i Zaman* who would remove all differences of opinion among the seventy-two sects of Islam ......The *Shiahs* mentioned similar nonsense.........All this made His Majesty the more inclined to claim the dignity of a prophet, perhaps I should say, the dignity of something else.'[1]

'During this time, the four degrees of faith in His Majesty were defined. The four degrees consisted in readiness to sacrifice to the Emperor property, life, honour, and religion. Whoever had sacrificed these four things, possessed four

1. Ibid., p. 190.

degrees; and whoever sacrificed one of these four, possessed one degree. All the courtiers now put their names down as faithful disciples of the throne.'[1]

Badauni has here definitely begun to caricature. Badauni was certainly not one of "all the courtiers" who had signed away their 'property, life, honour, and religion' to the Emperor; and he continued to live at the Court of Akbar for the remaining fifteen years of his life (989-1004 H.). He has himself mentioned only sixteen names of the courtiers who accepted the Divine Faith, to which Abu-l Fazl has added two. "With the exception of Bir Bal, they are all Muhammadans; but to judge from Badaoni's remarks, the number of those that took the *Shact*, must have been much larger," says Blochmann.[2] According to Badauni's own testimony, Rajas Bhagwan Das and Man Singh declined to accept the new faith;[3] they were not persecuted, but continued to enjoy their high privileges and position.

Badauni's mortification was further accentuated by the favours (or was it only fairness?) shown by Akbar to deserving Hindus: 'The real object of those who became disciples,' he writes, 'was to get into office; and *though His Majesty did everything to get this out of their heads, he acted very differently in the case of Hindus,* of whom he could not get enough (?); *for the Hindus, of course, are indispensible*; to them belongs half the army and half the land. Neither the Hindustanis nor the Moghuls can point to such grand lords as the Hindus have among themselves. But if others than Hindus came, and wished to become disciples at any sacrifice, His Majesty reproved or punished them (?). For their honour and zeal he did not care, nor did he notice whether they fell in with his views or not (!).[4]

Badauni stands self-condemned out of the words of his own mouth; in his opinion, not merely Akbar, but every one

1. Ibid., p. 191.
2. Ibid., p. 209.
3. Ibid., pp. 198, 206.
4. Ibid., p. 204.

who deviated even a hair's breadth from the rigid orthodoxy of the Sunni creed was an apostate. His fulminations, therefore, against Akbar and Abu-l Fazl are worth nothing. They are the effusions of a fanatic rankling under the reforms introduced by Akbar 'with the best of intentions.' We need consider here only the nature of these reforms. Let us follow Badauni's own account of them:

'His Majesty was now (990) convinced that the Millennium of the Islamic dispensation was drawing near. No obstacle, therefore, remained to promulgating the designs which he had planned in secret. *The Sheikhs and Ulamas who, on account of their obstinacy and pride, had to be entirely discarded, were gone, and His Majesty was free to disprove the orders and principles of Islam, and to ruin the faith of the nation by making new and absurd regulations.*'[1]

New Regulations.

1. 'The first order which was passed was, that the coinage should show the era of the Mellennium (Ilahi Era), and that a history of the one thousand years should be written, but commencing from the death of the Prophet.

2. 'Other extraodinary innovations were devised as political expedients, and such orders were given that one's senses got quite perplexed. Thus the *sijdah* or prostration, was ordered to be performed as being proper for Kings; but instead of *sijdah*, the word *zaminbos* was used.

3. 'Wine also was allowed, *if used for strengthening the body, as recommended by doctors*; *but no mischief or impropriety was to result from the use of it, and strict punishments were laid down for drunkenness, or gatherings, and uproars.* For the sake of keeping everything within proper limits, His Majesty established a wine-shop near the palace, and put the wife of the porter in charge of it, as she belonged to the caste of wine-sellers. The price of wine was fixed by regulations, and any sick person could obtain wine on sending his own name and the names of his father and grandfather to the clerk of the shop . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 191.

4. 'Similarly, ... the prostitutes of the realm (who had collected at the capital, and could scarcely be counted, so large was their number), had a separate quarter of the town assigned to them, which was called *Shaitanpurah*, or Devilsville. A *Darogah* and a clerk were also appointed for it, who registered the names of such as went to prostitutes, or wanted to take some of them to their houses. People might indulge in such connexions, provided the toll collectors knew of it. . .

5. 'Beef was interdicted, and to touch beef was considered defiling. The reason of this was that, from his youth, His Majesty had been in company with *Hindu libertines*, and had thus learnt to look upon a cow—which in their opinion is one of the reasons why the world still exists — as something holy. Besides, the Emperor was subject to the influence of the numerous Hindu princesses of the Harem, who had gained so great an ascendancy over him, as to make him forswear beef, garlic, onions, and the wearing of a beard, which things His Majesty still avoids.

6. 'He had also introduced, though modified by his peculiar views, Hindu customs and *heresies* into the Court assemblies, and introduces them still, in order to please and win the Hindus and their castes; he abstains from everything which they think is repugnant to their nature, and *looks upon shaving the beard as the highest sign of friendship and affection for him* (!). Hence this custom has become very general......

7. 'The ringing of bells as in use with the Christians, and the showing of the figure of the Cross,......and other childish play things of theirs, were daily in practice.

8. 'It was also forbidden to marry one's cousins or near relations, because such marriages are destructive of mutual love. *Boys were not to marry before the age of 16, nor girls before 14, because the offspring of early marriages were weakly. . . . .*[1] No one was to marry more than one wife, except in cases of barrenness; but in all other cases the rule was "One man, and one wife" . . . . .[2] If widows liked

1. Ibid., pp. 191-95 ; see also pp. 277-8.
2. *Cf.* Smith, *Akbar*, p. 256.

to remarry, they might do so, though this was against the ideas of the Hindus.

9. 'A Hindu girl, whose husband had died before the marriage was consummated, should not be burnt'.[1] 'If a Hindu woman wished to be burnt with her husband, they should not prevent her; but she should not be forced.'[2]

10. 'Hindus who, when young, had from pressure become Musalmans, were allowed to go back to the faith of their fathers. *No man should be interfered with on account of his religion, and every one should be allowed to change his religion, if he liked.* If a Hindu woman fall in love with a Muhammadan, and change her religion, she should be taken from him by force, and be given back to her family. (Similarly with a Muhammadan woman marrying a Hindu—ac. to the *Dabistan.*[3]) People should not be molested, if they wished to build churches and prayer rooms, or idol temples, or fire temples.'[4]

All this, according to Badauni constituted blasphemy and apostacy! It is strange that in spite of this, Vincent Smith should cite Badauni as a witness "*of the highest value.*" "Badaoni's interesting work," he says, "contains so much hostile criticism of Akbar that it was kept concealed during that emperor's life-time, and could not be published until after Jahangir's accession. The book, being written from the point of view taken by a bigoted Sunni, *is of the highest value as a check on the turgid panegyric composed by the latitudinarian Abul Fazl.* It gives information about the development of Akbar's opinions on religion, which is not to be found in the other Persian histories, but *agrees generally with the testimony of the Jesuit authors.*"[5]

On the strength of the testimony of this 'hostile' and 'bigoted Sunni witness,' Smith avers, "The general principle

1. Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari,* p. 205.
2. Ibid., p. 207; E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 68-9.
3. Blochmann, op. cit., p. 210.
4. Ibid., p. 208.
5. Smith, op. cit., p. 461.

of toleration . . . . . , while actually put in practice concerning religions other than Islam, was not acted on in matters concerning Muhammadan faith and practice. *Akbar showed bitter hostility to the faith of his fathers and his own youth, and actually perpetrated a persecution of Islam.*"[1]

Genesis of Akbar's Reforms.

The reforms described above were not the work of a single year; they were the product of a gradual evolution under a variety of circumstances. Akbar lived in an age of great spiritual awakening in India as well as Europe. "The sixteenth century," writes Prof. Sinha, "is a century of religious revival in the history of the world. The grand currents of the Reformation compare favourably with the surging up of a new life in India. India experienced an awakening that quickened her progress and vitalized her national life. The dominant note of this awakening was Love and Liberalism—Love that united man to God, and therefore to his brother man, and Liberalism, born of this love that levelled down the barrier of caste, creed and calling, and took its stand on the bed-rock of human existence and essence of all religions, Universal Brotherhood. With glorious ideals it inspired the Hindu and Muslim alike, and they forgot for a time the trivialities of their creed. To the Muslim as to the Hindu, it heralded the dawn of a new era, to the Muslim with the birth of the promised Mahdi, to the Hindu with the realization of the all-absorbing love of God."[2]

Not only were the times stirring and propitious, but Akbar was also born in a family that was deeply religious. While Babur and Humayun were both men of an essentially deep faith, they took comparatively lightly the outward forms of religion, as indicated by their change of creed under political necessity. Akbar was thus early brought under the liberalising influences of his family and country. His tutor

1. Ibid., p. 257.

2. The reader will do well to read this interesting article on "The Genesis of the Din-i-Ilahi," by Prof. H. N. Sinha, in the *Journal of Indian History* (Madras, Dec., 1930), pp. 306-29.

Abdul Latif was 'a paragon of learning' and the guiding principle of his life was '*Sulh-i-kul*' or peace with all. Smith himself writes: "Akbar from early youth had been passionately interested in the mystery of the relation between God and man, and in all the deep questions concerned with that relation. 'Discourses on philosophy,' he said, 'have such a charm for me that they distract me from all else, and I forcibly restrain myself from listening to them, lest the necessary duties of the hour should be neglected.' (*Ain.*, vol. iii, p. 386). When he came home to his capital at the beginning of 1575 he was conscious of having gained a long succession of remarkable and decisive victories which left him without an important enemy in the world as known to him. We are told at this time he 'spent whole nights in praising God. . . . His heart was full of reverence for Him, who is the true giver, and from a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone of an old building which lay near the palace in a lovely spot, with his head bent over his chest, gathering the bliss of the early hours of dawn."[1]

As early as 1562, when Akbar was only twenty years of age, he had "experienced a remarkable spiritual awakening." 'On the completion of my twentieth year,' he said, 'I experienced an internal bitterness, and from the lack of spiritual provision for my last journey my soul was seized with exceeding sorrow' (*Ain.*, vol. iii, p. 386). Commenting on this Smith rightly observes, "It is impossible not to connect this access of religious melancholy with the public events which preceded it . . . . . He had become conscious of the weight of the vast responsibilities resting upon his shoulders, and was forced to the conclusion that he must rely on his own strength, with Divine help, to bear them . . . . *He never again placed himself under the control of any adviser, but mapped out his course, right or wrong, for himself* . . . . During the years in which he was apparently devoted to sport alone, and oblivious of all serious affairs, the young man had been thinking and

1. Smith, op. cit., pp. 130-31.

shaping out a course of policy. His abolition of the practice of enslavement of prisoners of war, his marriage with the princess of Amber, and his reorganisation of the finances were measures which proved that his thinking had not been fruitless. *No minister would or could have carried them through.*"[1]

In 1563, in accordance with the broad outlook which Akbar was developing, he abolished all pilgrim taxes throughout his dominions, declaring 'it was contrary to the will of God to tax people assembled to worship the Creator, even though their forms of worship might be considered erroneous.' The following year, 1564, he also remitted the *jizya*, or poll-tax on non-Muslims,[2] although this involved a large loss of revenue.

Abu-l Fazl's Influence.

Smith says, with great justice to Akbar, "some writers are inclined to attribute too much influence on Akbar's policy to Abu-l Fazl. It is noteworthy that Akbar, abolished the *jizya* ten years before he made the acquaintance of his famous secretary. He had swept away the pilgrim taxes at a still earlier date. *The main lines of his policy, directed to obliterating all differences in treatment between Muslims and Hindus, were fixed as political principles while he was still to all outward appearance an orthodox and zealous Muslim*, and long before his open breach with Islam, which may be dated in 1582, after the defeat of his brother's attempt to win the throne of India. When it is remembered that Akbar was only twenty-one or twenty-two years of age when he abolished the pilgrim tax and the *jizya*, in defiance of the sentiments of his co-religionists and the practice of his predecessors, we may well marvel at the strength of will displayed by a man so young, who a little time before seemed to care for nothing but sport."[3]

1. Ibid., pp. 62-3.

2. E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 29-30. This tax was originally instituted by Khalif Omar. In India, under Firoz Shah Tughlak it was assessed in three grades, viz., 40, 20, 10 *tankas*; Brahmans were charged 10 *tankas* and 50 *jitals*. It was reimposed by Aurangzeb in 1679.

3. Smith, op. cit., pp. 66-7.

In 1575 Akbar erected the *Ibadat-khana*, or the House of Worship, devoted to religious discussions. At first it was used only by Muslim Sheikhs, Saiyids, Ulama, and Amirs. Debates were held every Thursday night and often lasted on till Friday noon. But the petty wranglings of the Muslim divines gave no satisfaction to Akbar's genuinely thirsty soul. Let us follow Badauni's description of the state of things that made Akbar seek other fountains to slake his thirst :—

' For these discussions, which were held every Thursday night, His Majesty invited the Sayyids, Shaikhs, Ulamas, and grandees, by turn. But as the guests generally commenced to quarrel about their places, and the order of precedence, His Majesty ordered that the grandees should sit on the east side ; the Sayyaid on the west side ; the Ulamas, to the south ; and the Shaikhs, to the north. The Emperor then used to go from one side to the other, and make his enquiries........., when all at once, one night, the vein of the neck of the Ulama of the age swelled up, and a horrid noise and confusion ensued. His Majesty got very angry at their rude behaviour, and said to me (Badauni), "In future report any of the Ulamas that cannot behave and talks nonsense, and I shall make him leave the hall." I gently said to Asaf Khan, "*If I were to carry out this order, most of the Ulamas would have to leave,*" when His Majesty suddenly asked what I had said. On hearing my answer, he was highly pleased, and mentioned my remark to those sitting near him.' [1]

"The differences between the two parties of the Ulama, one of whom denounced as heretical notions declared by the other to be the truth, confirmed Akbar in the opinion that both parties were in error, and that the truth must be sought outside the range of their bickerings." [2] He therefore now turned for enlightenment to Parsees, Jainas, Christians, and Hindus. Or, in the words of Abu-l Fazl : ' The Shahinshah's Court became the home of the inquirers of the "seven

1. Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, p. 171 ; E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 59-60.
2. Smith, op. cit., p. 162.

climes," and the assemblage of the wise of every religion and sect.'[1]

The Zoroastrians.

According to Smith, Akbar probably found more personal satisfaction in Zoroastrianism, the religion of the Parsees, than in any other of the numerous religions examined by him so critically in his '*odd*, (?) detached manner'.[2] Dastur Meherjee Rana of Nausari had the privilege of initiating Akbar into the mysteries of this religion in 1578-79. They had first met near Khankra Khari during Akbar's Gujarat campaign in 1573. After his death in 1591 the famous Dastur was succeeded by his son at Akbar's Court. He was granted a *jagir* of 200 *bhigas* of land (100 acres), which was later on increased by one half. From 1580 Akbar publicly prostrated before the sun and fire, and in the evenings when the lamps were lighted it became the practice for the whole Court to rise respectfully. According to Badauni he ordered that dead bodies should be buried with their heads towards the east (rising sun). 'His Majesty even commenced to sleep in this position.'[3]

The Jainas.

"The evidence available," writes Dr. Hirananda Shastri,[4] "would show that Akbar learnt the *Surya-sahasra-nama* from a Jaina teacher of his...... The list given by Abul Fazl names three Jaina *gurus* for whom the Great Mughal had a very high regard. The *Hiravijaya kāvyam* shows that the stoppage of animal slaughter was due to the teaching of Hīravijaya Sūrī on whom Akbar had conferred the grand title of *Jagadguru* or the Preceptor of the World. The Ādisvara temple on the holy hill of Śatruñjaya near Palitana in Kathiawar has a long Sanskrit inscription written on its walls which combines the praise of this Jaina monk with that of Akbar and may well be referred to for knowing what the Great Mughal did under the noble influence of the Jaina

1. *Akbar-Namah*, iii, p. 366.
2. Smith, op. cit., p. 162; read also ibid., p. 165 n 3.
3. Blochmann, op. cit., p. 206.
4. "Akbar as a Sun-Worshipper," *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, (Calcutta, March, 1933), pp. 137-40.

saints. Vincent Smith has rightly remarked that 'Akbar's action in abstaining almost wholly from eating meat and in issuing stringent prohibitions, resembling those of Aśoka restricting to the narrowest limits the destruction of life, certainly was taken in obedience to the doctrine of his Jaina teachers.' The colophon of the commentary on the *Kādambarī* would show that Akbar read the *Suryasahasranama* with Bhānuchandra whom Hīravijaya Sūrī had left behind after his famons visit to Akbar. Siddhichandra, the joint author of the said commentary, and a disciple of Bhānuchandra, was another teacher of the Great Mughal."

The Christians.

In the preceding chapter we have already dealt at length with Akbar's relations with the Jesuits from whom he desired to know the truth of Christianity. Badauni accuses Akbar of adopting the Cross 'and other childish playthings of theirs.' Smith says, "The contribution made to the debates by Christian disputants was an important factor among the forces which led Akbar to renounce (?) the Muslim religion."[1] But if the Fathers expected to have in Akbar an Imperial convert to their religion, they were sorely miscalculating. Yet, we cannot agree with Smith when he declares "Probably Akbar was *never perfectly sincere* when he used expressions implying belief in the Christian religion. It may be true that *he preferred it, on the whole, to any other religion,* but. . . . His interest lay chiefly in the study of the subject now called 'Comparative Religion,' and was *prompted by intellectual curiosity rather than by an awakened conscience.*"[2] He is nearer the truth when he says, "He went so far in relation to each religion that different people had reasonable ground for affirming him to be a Zoroastrian, a Hindu, a Jain, or a Christian. Nevertheless, he could not bring himself to accept frankly any one of the four creeds, however much he might admire certain doctrines of each, or even practise some parts of the ritual of all four."[3]

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 168.
2. Ibid., pp. 255-6.
3. Ibid., p. 165.

Akbar's interest in religion was deeper than the mere 'intellectual curiosity' of a student of 'Comparative Religion.' In 1578 (May), then in his thirty-sixth year, Akbar suddenly returned from a great hunt on the Jhelum, for which he had made elaborate arrangements, when in the words of Abu-l Fazl, 'a sublime joy took possession of his bodily frame; the attraction of the cognition of God cast its ray.' This strange experience is confirmed by Badauni who writes, 'suddenly, all at once, a strange state and strong frenzy came upon the Emperor, and an extraordinary change was manifested in his manner to such an extent as cannot be accounted for. And every one attributed it to some cause or other; but God alone knoweth secrets. And at that time he ordered the hunting to be abandoned: 'Take care! for the Grace of God comes suddenly. It comes suddenly, it comes to the mind of the wise!'[1]

Smith in his comments on this peculiar incident is characteristically sceptical (cynical?):

"He (Akbar) gave vent to his religious emotion by the *fantastic freak* of filling the Anūptalāo tank in the palace at Fathpur-Sikri with a vast mass of coin, exceeding, it is said ten millions of rupees in value, which he subsequently distributed.

"That is all we know about the mysterious occurrence. The information is *tantalysing in its meagreness*, but probably never gave any fully intelligible account of the spiritual storm which swept through him as he sat or lay under the tree. *Perhaps he slept and had a dream, or, as seems to be more likely, he may have had an epileptic fit.*" (!) He is perhaps nearer the mark when he confesses, "No man can tell exactly what happened... ...when, like Dante, he was *'nel mezo del cammin di nostra vita,'* 'in the middle of life's path,' and, like the poet, saw a vision, *beholding things that cannot be uttered.*"

"Akbar was by nature a mystic, who sought earnestly, like his Sufi friends, to attain the ineffable bliss of direct contact with the Divine Reality—*He was not an ordinary man, and his complex nature, like that of St. Paul, Muhammad, Dante,*

1. Cited by Smith, op. cit., pp. 158-9.

and other great men with a tendency to mysticism, present perplexing problems.[1]

Such a nature could hardly escape from the liberal idealism of the Hindus who surrounded him like the very air he breathed. His policy towards the Rajputs, the most militant section of the Hindus, has already been commented upon. He took to himself Hindu wives as symbolic of the intimate union he wished to cultivate between the two largest sections of his subjects. He exalted Rajas Man Singh, Bhagwandas, Bir Bal, and Todar Mal to the highest ranks given to any noble in the realm. He adopted Hindu dress and religious symbolism to such an extent as to tantalyse and scandalise orthodox Muslims like Badauni. To his utter chagrin he set Badauni the task of translating into Persian the sacred books of the infidels like the *Mahabharat*. 'The killing of animals on certain days was forbidden, as on Sundays, because this day is sacred to the Sun...... to please the Hindus....... His Majesty abstained altogether from meat, as a religious penance, gradually extending the several fasts during a year over six months and even more, with the view of eventually discontinuing the use of meat altogether...... His Majesty had also one thousand and one Sanskrit names of the Sun collected, and *read* them daily, devoutly turning to the Sun (like the Hindus worshipping *Gayatri*)..... He also adopted several other practices connected with Sun-worship. He used to wear the Hindu mark on the forehead, and ordered the band to play at midnight and at break of day...... Once a year also during a night, called *Śivrat*, a great meeting was held of all *Jogis* of the Empire, when the Emperor ate and drank with the principal *Jogis*, who promised him that he should live three and four times as long as ordinary men...... Cheating, thieving Brahmins ..... told the Emperor that he was an incarnation (*avatar*), like Ram, Kishn, and other infidel Kings...... In order to flatter him, they also brought Sanskrit verses, said to have been taken from the sayings of

The Hindus.

1. Ibid., pp. 159–61.

ancient sages, in which it was predicted that a great conqueror would rise up in India, who would honour Brahmins and cows, and govern the earth with justice. *They also wrote this nonsense on old-looking paper, and showed it to the Emperor, who believed every word of it.*'[1]

SOME ESTIMATES OF AKBAR

To enforce the view of Akbar herein presented, we might close this brief study of Akbar with a few well-known opinions and estimates of his character and achievements.

Jahangir's Memoirs: 'My father always associated with the learned of every creed and religion: especially the Pandits and the learned of India, and *although he was illiterate*, so much became clear to him through constant intercourse with the learned and wise, in his conversation with them, that *no one knew him to be illiterate*; and he was so well-acquainted with the niceties of verse and prose compositions, that his deficiency was not thought of.

'Notwithstanding his kingship, his treasures and his buried wealth past computation, his fighting elephants and Arab horses, he never by a hair's breadth placed his foot beyond the base of humility before the throne of God, and never for one moment forgot Him. He associated with the good of every race and creed and persuasion, and was gracious to all in accordance with their condition and understanding.

'He passed his nights in wakefulness, and slept little in the day; the length of his sleep during a whole night and day was not more than a watch and a half. He counted his wakefulness at night as so much added to his life.'

Col. Malleson: "Akbar's great idea was the union of all India under one head...His code was the grandest of codes for a ruler, for the founder of an empire. They were the principles by accepting which his western successors maintain it at the present day. Certainly, though his European contempora-

1. Blochmann, op. cit., pp. 200-1.

ries were the most eminent of their respective countries (Elizabeth in England and Henry IV in France), he need not shrink from comparison even with these. His reputation is built upon deeds which lived after him......The foundations dug by Akbar were so deep that his son, although so unlike him, was able to maintain the Empire which the principles of his father had welded together.

"When we reflect what he did, the age in which he did it, the method he introduced to accomplish it, we are bound to recognise in Akbar one of those illustrious men whom Providence sends, in the hour of a nation's trouble, to reconduct it into those paths of peace and toleration which alone can assure the happiness of millions." (*Akbar*, pp. 196, 199-200)

Stanley Lane-Poole: "The noblest king that ever ruled in India" (p. 288). "The true founder and organiser of the Empire." "Represents the golden age of the Mughal Empire." (p. 238) "Assimilation of the Hindu chiefs was the most conspicuous feature of Akbar's reign"......"The remarkable points about this expansion......were, *first*, that it was done with the willing help of the Hindu princes, and *secondly*, that expansion went hand-in-hand with orderly administration. This was a new thing in Indian government, for hitherto the local officials had done pretty much as it pleased them, and the central authority had seldom interfered so long as the revenue did not suffer. Akbar allowed no oppression—if he knew of it—by his lieutenants, and not a few of his campaigns were undertaken mainly for the purpose of punishing governors who had been guilty of self-seeking and peculation. Much of the improvement was due to his employment of Hindus, who at that time were better men of business than the uneducated and mercenary adventurers who formed a large proportion of the Muhammadan invaders (pp. 259-60).

"There is no name in medieval history more renowned in India at the present day than that of Todar Mal, and the reason is that nothing in Akbar's reforms more nearly touched the welfare of the people than the great financier's reconstruction of the revenue system." (p. 261). "Todar Mal's order

(to keep all accounts in Persian), and Akbar's generous policy of allowing Hindus to compete for the highest honours,—Man Singh was the first commander of 7,000—explain two facts: *First*, that before the end of the eighteenth century the Hindus had almost become the Persian teachers of the Muhammadans; *secondly*, that a new dialect could arise in India, the *Urdu*, which, without the Hindus as receiving medium, could never have been called into existence." (*Mediaeval India*, pp. 265-66).

Edwardes and Garrett: "Akbar has proved his worth in different fields of action. He was an intrepid soldier, a great general, a wise administrator, a benevolent ruler, and a sound judge of character. He was a born leader of men and can rightly claim to be one of the mightiest sovereigns known to history . . . During a reign of nearly fifty years, he built up a powerful Empire which could vie with the strongest, and established a dynasty whose hold over India was not contested by any rival for about a century. His reign witnessed the final transformation of the Mughals from mere military invaders into a permanent Indian dynasty." (*Mughal Rule in India*, p. 53).

Vincent Smith: "The practical ability displayed by Akbar as a soldier, general, administrator, diplomatist, and supreme ruler has been shown abundantly by his whole history and does not need further exposition. The personal force of his character, discernible even now with sufficient clearness, was overpowering to his contemporaries . . . . .

"He was a born king of men, with a rightful claim to be one of the mightiest sovereigns known to history. That claim rests securely on the basis of his extraordinary natural gifts, his original ideas, and his magnificent achievements." (*Akbar the Great Mogul*, pp. 352-3.)

Ishwari Prasad: "Dr. Vincent Smith, relying upon Jesuit sources, dwells upon Akbar's artfulness and duplicity in state craft and speaks of his 'tortuous diplomacy and perfidious action . . . . Dr. Smith forgets that Akbar's great contemporary Elizabeth lied shamelessly, and Green

goes so far as to assert that in the profusion and recklessness of her lies she stood without a peer in Christendom. The vile methods and intrigues of other monarchs in France, Spain, and elsewhere are too well known to need mention. Akbar was undoubtedly superior to his contemporaries both in intellect and character, and his policy was far more humane than theirs. Against the few acts of inhumanity and breach of faith attributed to him by Dr. Smith it is possible to mention a hundred deeds of generosity and benevolence. *Accurate and impartial research by whomsoever conducted will reveal Akbar to have been in many respects a greater man than his European contemporaries.*"

(*A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 436-7.)

Lawrence Binyon :—'His greater achievement as a ruler was to weld this collection of different states, different races, different religions, into a whole. It was accomplished by elaborate organisation,—Akbar had an extraordinary genius for detail—still more by the settled policy which persuaded his subjects of the justice of their ruler. Though a foreigner, he identified himself with the India he had conquered. And much of his system was to be permanent. The principles and practice worked out by Akbar and his ministers were largely adopted into the English system of government. (pp. 8-9) . . . . . . There is something engaging in Akbar's faults and weaknesses, which were not petty, but rather belonged to the things which made him great. He was above all things human." (*Akbar*, p. 23).

He also thinks Smith "curiously unfair to his hero". *The Times Literary Supplement*, June 9, 1932, p. 415, reviewing Binyon's interesting study of Akbar, wrote of 'Akbar's religious attitude, on which our estimate of his character largely depends.'—" In this particular Mr. Binyon goes near indeed to the truth. He shows the great Emperor as liable from time to time to be overwhelmed by a sense of the emptiness of life, by a strong desire to find some sure abiding place, but seeking it in vain. Restlessly he turns from sect to sect in the faith in which he was reared. Finding no satisfaction in their

dialectic, he summons the teachers of every religion within his call. Jain and Parsi, Brahman and Jesuit, each is heard with attention and respect; but for one reason or another each fails to hold the Emperor. The Brahman is too subtle for his practical mind; the Jesuit demands an obedience which he cannot give; the Parsi attracts him most and he finds a ghostly comfort in that ceremonial. *Those who have seen in Akbar's religious search a mere political seeking for a faith in which his people might be united have surely seen but the surface of the truth, and have not penetrated, as Mr. Binyon does, to the man himself.*"

K. T. Shah: "Akbar was the greatest of the Mughals and perhaps the greatest of all Indian rulers for a thousand years, if not ever since the days of the mighty Mauryas. But, without detracting in the least from the genius of the man or the inheritance of his birth, it may yet be said that Akbar was so great, because he was so thoroughly Indianised. His genius perceived the possibilities, and his courage undertook the task, of welding the two communities into a common Nation by the universal bond of common service and equal citizenship of a magnificent Empire. Akbar was a born master of men, and bred an autocrat in an age of despotism. It would be unjust to criticise him by the canons of another age, or from the standpoint of other ideals. Within the legitimate limits of a most searching criticism, there is much—very much indeed,—in his life and outlook and achievements, which must demand our unstinted, unqualified admiration, and little that could merit just censure."

(*The Splendour that was Ind*, p. 30.)

E. B. Havell: "Akbar has shared the fate of all great reformers in having his personal character unjustly assailed, his motives impugned, and his actions distorted, upon evidence which hardly bears judicial examination.........He was neither an ascetic nor a saint of the conventional type; but few of the great rulers of the earth can show a better record for deeds of righteousness, or more honourably and consistently maintained

their ideals of religious life devoted to the service of humanity. In the western sense his mission was political rather than religious ; but in his endeavours to make the highest religious principles the motive power of State policy he won an imperishable name in Indian history and lifted the political ethics of Islam into a higher plane than they had ever reached before.

"It does not detract from his greatness as a man and ruler that his achievements fell short of his ideals—that the Din Ilahi did not accomplish the spiritual regeneration of the ruling classes or wipe off the state all the records of previous centuries of misgovernment, and that his schemes did not embrace a full recognition of the ancient Aryan system of self-government upon which the economic strength and political greatness of India stood firm longer than has been the case with any other empire in the world. But Akbar's endeavours to realise the Aryan ideal are still worthy of imitation both by British rulers of India and by all statesmen for whom politics is a religion rather than a game of craft and skill."

(*Aryan Rule in India*, pp. 536–7.)

Lord Tennyson: Last but not least, Tennyson's charming colloquy "Akbar's Dream" sums up the best of Akbar in a nut-shell. A few significant verses from it may be given with profit: "His tolerance of religions," writes the anonymous editor of the poet's works, "and his abhorrence of religious persecution put our Tudors to shame......and his legislation was remarkable for vigour, justice, and humanity."

Akbar to Abu-l Fazl:

[*Before the palace at Fathpur-Sikri at night.*]

"But come,
My noble friend, my faithful counsellor,
Sit by my side while thou art one with me,
I seem no longer like a lonely man
In the King's Garden, gathering here and there
From each fair plant the blossom choicest grown
To wreathe a crown not only for the King,

But in due time for every Musalmān,
Brahmin, and Buddhist, Christian and Parsee,
Thro' all the warring world of Hindustān.

. . . .

Look how the living pulse of Alla beats
Thro' all His world. If every single star
Should shriek its claim: 'I only am in heaven,'
Why that were such sphere-music as the Greek
Had hardly dream'd of. There is light in all,
And light, with more or less of shade in all.

. . . .

I hate the rancour of their castes and creeds,
I let them worship as they will, I reap
No revenue from the field of unbelief.
I cull from every faith and race the best
And bravest soul for counsellor and friend.

. . . .

The Christians own a Spiritual Head;
And following thy true counsel, by thine aid,
Myself am such in our Islam, *for no*
Mirage of glory, but for power to fuse
My myriads into union under one;
To hunt the tiger of oppression out
From office; *and to spread the Divine Faith*
Like calming oil on all their stormy creeds,
And fill the hollows between wave and wave;
To nurse my children on the milk of Truth,
And alchemise old hates into the gold
Of Love, and make it current; and beat back
The menacing poison of intolerant priests,
Those cobras ever setting up their hoods—
One Alla! One Khalifa!"